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Concerns of Incarcerated Female Offenders

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ABSTRACT

Studies on the impact of imprisonment (e.g. Sykes, 1958; Johnson, 1976; Toch, 1977; Richards, 1978; Sapsford, 1978; Fox, 1982b; Baunach, 1985) have been particularly concerned with the "pains of imprisonment" (Toch, 1977) experienced by inmates during incarceration. This body of work has revealed that inmates are mainly preoccupied with their mental health, loss of autonomy, social relationships with other inmates and with the "outside world", physical safety in the institution, and missing goods and services within the prison. Further, differential perceptions of the above concerns have been manifested by inmates who differ in terms of age, race, length of sentence, and the length of time already spent in incarceration.

In an attempt to explore the problems encountered by female inmates from different demographic backgrounds, a random sample of fifty women in an American correctional institution was interviewed in the present study, addressing the aforementioned areas of concerns. In addition, the subjects' psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1969) at the time of interview was assessed. Data were analyzed with respect to age, race, length of current sentence, and length of time already spent in incarceration. Findings from the present study indicated that younger subjects and subjects with lower education levels showed higher levels of psychological anxiety, while older subjects manifested more symptoms of extreme physical anxiety, but less
negative affect. Subjects facing sentences of ten years and over also reported a higher incidence of extreme physical anxiety, and perceived less favourable social relationships within the institution.

The present findings indicated that different groups of incarcerated women express concerns of different types. This has clear implications for the planning of social and mental health services, programmes, and resources for women in prison settings.
I would like to offer my appreciation to Dr. Bill Glackman and Dr. Margaret Jackson for their continuing support. In particular, my thanks due to Dr. Bill Glackman whose persisting encouragement and guidance were indispensable to the completion of this thesis.

I am greatly indebted to the Washington Department of Corrections for granting me the opportunity to conduct this study at the Washington Correctional Center for Women (WCCW). Special thanks are extended to all inmates, correctional officers, unit-supervisors, counsellors, clinic staff, instructors, and administrators at WCCW for their participation in this study. Of special note are Mr. Elton Vail, Superintendent of WCCW, Ms. Tana Wood, former Acting Superintendent of WCCW, Ms. Sandy Carter, former Captain of WCCW, and Mr. Jeff Walker, Sergeant of WCCW. Their openness in our discussions have been invaluable to my understanding of issues concerning women in prison. My appreciations to Dr. Peggy Smith and Ms. Anmarie Aylward, Division of Management and Budget of Department of Corrections, for their kind assistance in the provision of statistical information. My warmest thanks to Mr. Donald Nelson, Director of mental health staff of WCCW, Dr. Carol Day, former Clinical Psychologist of WCCW, Ms. Lindy Simons, Ms. Gretta Woodlock, Psychiatric Social Workers, Mr. Bob Gach, and Mr. Farrell Taylor of WCCW for their efforts in
facilitating this study, and for every minute piece of advice which they had offered throughout my research at the institution.
DEDICATION

To all women in prison and to those who strive to enhance the lives of the incarcerated.
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Female offenders have remained a minority of the prison population in recent times, their composition representing 4.5 percent of all imprisoned adults in State and Federal correctional institutions in America (Nesbitt, 1986). Glick and Neto (1977) pointed out that women inmates have been perceived to be different from male inmates in terms of their post-release economic needs, in that the women inmates are less in need of preparation for self-support after release. Although inmates in total institutions, which include prisons, endure social and psychological deprivations (Goffman, 1961), the provision of programmes and resources have been generally less adequate in prisons for women than in prisons for men (Glick and Neto, 1977).

This project examined whether different groups of female prison subjects have different perceptions of problems arising from being incarcerated. One result emerging from such findings might be that assistance to the management staff could be given when improvements to services are considered. In an attempt to meet its research objective, this project explored the characteristics of concerns faced by incarcerated women who differed in terms of age, race, education, length of sentence, and length of sentence already served in a particular correctional institution.
LITERATURE REVIEW

In the first part of the following review, the most relevant studies on problems faced by male inmates are discussed. Problems encountered by female inmates will then be reviewed.

Studies of Male Inmates

Researchers have frequently examined the nature of psychological stresses experienced by incarcerated male offenders (e.g. Goffman, 1961; Sykes, 1958; Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Toch, 1977; Richards, 1978; Sapsford, 1978; Parisi, 1982; Flanagan, 1982; Walker, 1983).

In an attempt to understand the meaning of imprisonment from the inmates' perspective, Sykes (1958) interviewed male adult inmates serving long sentences in a maximum security prison at Trenton, New Jersey. Apart from administering structured questionnaires to 200 randomly sampled inmates, Sykes also examined official records and carried out unstructured interviews with both staff and inmates. The term, "pains of imprisonment" (Sykes, 1958) was subsequently coined to describe the inmates' perceptions of deprivations or frustrations which, as was observed by Sykes, posed many problems for the inmates' self-esteem.

The loss of liberty resulting from confinement to, and within, the institution was regarded as the most painful
condition imposed on the inmates (Sykes, 1958, p.65). Confinement entails isolation, which, as Sykes pointed out, is "painfully depriving and frustrating in terms of lost emotional relationships, of loneliness and boredom" (p.65). The most painful aspect of this deprivation is that confinement implies "a deliberate, moral rejection of the criminal by the free community" (Sykes, 1958, p.65). Hence, the inmate must find a means to reject his rejectors in order to endure psychologically (Sykes, 1958).

Deprivation of goods and services was also identified as a source of "pain". From the inmates' perspective, material deprivation was equated with personal-inadequacy (Sykes, 1958). Sykes explained that in the Western culture, material possessions form a major part of one's self-conception; deprivation of material goods was thus regarded as an attack on one's personality in the deepest sense. An attack of this nature was particularly painful among incarcerated offenders, because they were aware of the fact that their loss of material possessions was a consequence of their own misdeeds, and not a result of fate or universal calamity (Sykes, 1958).

Another affront of prison was the lack of heterosexual relationships. Psychological problems arising from inmates' concerns about their masculinity were more salient than the problems arising from associated physical frustrations, in that these men were concerned about the need to maintain their masculinity within an exclusively male society in prison (Sykes,
Further, for those who had engaged in homosexual behaviour as a response to physical frustrations in the institution, self-image deflated, mainly due to the individuals' strong guilt feelings about their behaviour (Sykes, 1958).

Deprivation of autonomy presented yet another form of "pain" among inmates. Dependencies on staff regarding daily routines, restricted opportunities for decision-making, and feelings of helplessness posed threats to the inmates' status of adulthood (Sykes, 1958).

Lack of security was the fifth source of frustration reported by Sykes' subjects. Sykes (1958) noted that deprivation of security led to acute anxiety, aroused by the inmates' fear of aggression from other inmates. A dilemma regarding self-defence against such possible aggression presented a further concern, in that both success and failure to protect oneself from aggression might provoke further attacks from other inmates.

Problems encountered by male inmates who were serving long sentences were also examined by Cohen and Taylor (1972). The researchers carried out their study at the Durham Prison, a British prison for men. Participants were 32 inmates in the maximum security block, who were attending the researchers' sociology classes, during which impromptu discussions regarding the inmates' problems were held.
Fear of mental deterioration was a common concern shared by the inmates. This fear was demonstrated when inmates often requested that the researchers comment on any visible signs of cognitive deterioration, record personality changes, and discuss the inmates' cultural inadequacies and their social adjustment (Cohen and Taylor, 1972). Owing to their obsessive worries about signs of mental deterioration, "these men felt that all around them were examples of people who had turned into cabbages because they had not been sufficiently vigilant" (Cohen and Taylor, 1972, p.105).

Other inmates' challenges to one's self-conception were perceived by the Durham inmates as another major concern. Cohen and Taylor (1972) observed that half of their subjects had chosen to resign from socializing with other inmates, in order to maintain their self-conception, and had turned towards co-operating with the authorities in return for a quiet life.

The fear of losing contacts with family and friends created another source of anxiety, aroused by doubts about how long those relationships would last during a twenty year sentence. Such anxieties were coupled with frustrations over letter censorship and restrictions on the number of outgoing letters (Cohen and Taylor, 1972).

Johnson (1976) noted that differential perceptions of concerns were manifested by inmates from different ethnic groups and age groups within ethnic groups. He interviewed Latin, black
and white inmates in prisons and jails at New York State. Johnson's (1976) subjects were 325 male inmates who had either mutilated themselves, or had attempted suicide during incarceration. Problems faced by the men in this 'crises group' were compared with those faced by 146 randomly chosen inmates who did not have a history of self-mutilation. Whites in the crises group were faced with neurotic crises of self-punishment, where subjects felt that their past acts had placed them in an intolerable position (Johnson, 1976). Further, within the white crises group, younger inmates and inmates who were less experienced in crime were more fearful of peers and expressed resentment over unstable personal relationships. Whites in the comparison group, on the other hand, were more concerned about family-related problems.

Unlike white inmates, Latin inmates in the crises group and the comparison group were similarly concerned about family-related problems.

In contrast with their counterparts in the comparison group, blacks in the crises group were more preoccupied with personal safety and victimization. Among all black interviewees, younger inmates were mainly preoccupied with isolation panic: a demand for release from panic-producing isolation, such as feelings of isolation from prison activities (Johnson, 1976).

Panton (1976) interviewed inmates in North Carolina. He compared the Minnesota Multiphasic Personality Inventory (MMPI)
scores of inmates aged sixty and above with the scores of a representative sample of 2,551 male inmates. Results from the MMPI revealed that anxiety, despondency, insecurity, and inadequacy were higher among older inmates than other randomly selected inmates. Panton (1976) noted that older inmates were more demanding, self-centered, and naive than younger ones. The former group was also more concerned about their physical functioning.

Toch (1977) explored the relationship between inmates and prison environments, basing his findings on 418 completed interviews with male inmates in five maximum-security institutions in New York state. The various "environmental concerns" were identified as physical safety, emotional feedback, lack of privacy, no emotional support, lack of activity, lack of freedom, and lack of structure. Toch (1977) believed that these "environmental concerns" are conditioned by needs, which were viewed from one's subjective environments, or "reality worlds".

It is possible, therefore, that inmates who lived under the same environmental conditions might have perceived different environmental concerns. For instance, within the same institution, problems which were viewed by some inmates as being most stressful, might not have been seen as such by others, due to variations in subjective interpretation of the same social and physical milieu (Toch, 1977). In his study, Toch (1977) noted that differential interpretation of concerns were
associated with variations in demographic characteristics among inmates.

Toch (1977) also found that age was correlated with the nature of environmental concerns. Comparisons of results from inmates in three age-groups, 16 to 21, 22 to 28, and 29 to 67, revealed that privacy was more important to young inmates than to older ones, and that younger inmates were more preoccupied by physical safety than were their older peers.

Concerns about structure, which alludes to the concerns about environmental stability and predictability, were expressed by older inmates over 29 years of age as another problem, whereas younger inmates perceived the same issue as least problematic (Toch, 1977). Among the subjects in Toch's study, approximately one-third of those who faced long sentences of ten years or more showed their concerns about the stability, or structure, of their environment, while merely 5.2% of those whose sentence length was less than ten years were worried about this problem. Further, inmates who had been incarcerated for a shorter period were more preoccupied about support from others. Inmates who had already been incarcerated for over two years were more concerned about structure than those who had been imprisoned for less than two years.

Compared to whites, Toch (1977) reported that blacks were more concerned about support from persons, settings, and services which were capable of providing self-advancement.
Blacks were also more concerned with the lack of freedom than were whites. On the other hand, whites were more concerned about physical safety and about the lack of activity (defined as social stimulation).

Lastly, compared to the single inmates, those who had been married were less concerned about freedom, but were more worried about emotional feedback, which, as Toch (1977) explained, was a concern about being loved, cared for, and appreciated.

Richards (1978) examined the frequency and intensity of psychological stress among inmates with long-sentences (3 years or more) in an unidentified British institution. Due to the fact that that particular institution carries the reputation of being an "easy nick", Richards cautioned against generalizing his findings to inmates in other institutions. Employing a random sample, 11 inmates who had served less than 18 months of their sentence ("Early group"), and 11 who had served at least 8 years of sentence ("Late group"), were asked to rate the frequency and intensity of each of a list of 22 problems, developed during a pilot study (Richards, 1975). All problems reflected psychological stresses which were related to the inmate's relationships on the outside, (e.g. "Missing little luxuries"; "Longing for a time in the past") and relationships with the outside, (e.g. "Missing social life"; "Missing somebody"), or to his experience of the inside of prison (e.g. "Feeling suicidal"; "Being afraid about becoming a vegetable"). Subjects were also asked to indicate to whom they would turn for help with each
Subjects in both the "Late" and "Early" groups shared the five most severe problems, which were: missing somebody, feeling life was being wasted, feeling sexually frustrated, missing little "luxuries", and missing social life. The problems perceived to be least severe were also the same among all subjects. Such problems were: losing self-confidence, feeling angry with the world, being afraid of dying before getting out, and feeling suicidal. The "Late group" did differ from the "Early group", in that subjects in the former group were shown to be more concerned with relationships with people in the "outside" world. As Richards suggested, this reflected the fact that communication with the outside remained a central element in the management of the long-termers' mental health. Fear of deterioration in mental health was regarded by Richards' subjects as a minor problem.

Like Richards (1978), Sapsford (1978) examined the problems faced by male inmates in an unidentified British prison. Using some basic psychological variables and a psychiatric classification protocol, Sapsford developed a list of twelve areas of study: depression; anxiety; introversion; neuroticism and emotionality; apathy; dependence on staff and routine; motivation to do one's best; sociability; interest in the outside world and outside contacts; concerns with release; "orientation" in time and length of future time-perspective; and general psychiatric state. Inmates were differentiated in terms
of the length of sentences they had already served. All subjects were serving indeterminate sentences: 10 inmates had served 14 years, 20 inmates had served 6 years, and 20 inmates had served 9 months. Unstructured interviews, personality tests, and prison files were used in the study.

Sapsford (1978) noted that male inmates who had already spent a longer time in incarceration were seen by the staff as increasingly dependent on routine and on staff support as their sentence progressed, although these men were not seen as being so at the beginning of their sentence. This group of inmates were also found to be less interested in social activities and outgoing behaviour. However, they did not show any decline in their interest in the outside world.

Summary of Studies on Male Inmates

Findings from the major studies on the problems faced by male inmates revealed that six major sources of concerns had been identified: 1) concerns about loss of autonomy, 2) concerns about social relationships with the "outside world", 3) concerns about mental health, 4) concerns about physical safety within the prison, 5) concerns about social relationships within the prison, and 6) concerns about missing goods and services within the prison.

Concerns about loss of autonomy were widespread among the male inmates in the studies by Sykes (1958), Cohen and Taylor
These concerns arose from the loss of liberty (Sykes, 1958), lack of privacy (Toch, 1977), and threats to the inmates' status of adulthood owing to their dependence on prison staff for daily routines (Sykes, 1958).

Another source of concerns frequently reported by the male inmates was related to issues about their social relationships with the "outside world". Richards' (1978) subjects expressed that, missing someone, missing social life, and feeling sexually frustrated were perceived as major problems. Similarly, Sykes' (1958) subjects were preoccupied with the lack of heterosexual relationships during incarceration. Among Latin inmates, family-related crises were perceived as their major concern (Johnson, 1976).

The third source of concerns encountered by male inmates was worries about mental health. These were problems regarding the emotional feedback, lack of emotional support (Toch, 1977), and other inmates' challenges to one's self-conception (Cohen and Taylor, 1972). Cohen and Taylor (1972) observed that their subjects were particularly obsessed with the fear of mental deterioration within the prison. On the other hand, this latter issue was perceived by Richards' (1978) subjects as a minor problem. However, as Richards (1978) has pointed out, differences in the characteristics of the two institutions in their respective studies might have pertained to the concordant results.
Findings from Toch (1977) and Johnson (1976) revealed that inmates were also concerned about their social relationships within the prison. Inmates in Toch's (1977) study were preoccupied with the lack of activities, but inmates who had been spent a longer time in incarceration showed less interest in social activities and outgoing behaviour (Sapsford, 1978). Other inmates expressed concerns about a lack of physical safety in the institution, Sykes, 1958; Toch, 1977; Johnson, 1976; Panton, 1976), and concerns about peer relationships (Johnson, 1976).

Lastly, missing goods and services was perceived by Sykes (1958) and Richards' (1978) subjects as one of the most severe problems.

Studies of Female Inmates

The above review of findings on male inmates can offer some understanding of the general problems which imprisoned individuals often face during incarceration. Unfortunately, the same field of research on female offenders has received relatively less attention. As was pointed out by Fox (1982b), the extensive studies on male prisoners have offered only limited help in understanding special adjustments made by female prisoners, and that little is known about the underlying sources of stress of female inmates and the effects such problems have on their prison adjustment.
One attempt to study the nature of psychological needs of female inmates was made by Cassel and Van Vorst (1961). Seven-hundred female inmates at the California Institution for Women were asked to report the problems encountered by themselves and the problems which they believed other inmates were concerned about. Inmates were found to be most personally concerned about problems regarding self-adjustment, that is, problems concerning self-acceptance, self-understanding, and self-realization (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961).

Personal problems identified as second in importance were those relating to family adjustment. Inmates were preoccupied about the deterioration of member inter-relationships. Inmates who were concerned about this aspect were worried that there might be a decline in the degree of status which the various family members have for each other, and that there might be a loss of cohesion in the family (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961, p.23). The fear of deterioration in the unity of family, brought about by increased separation between family members, was identified as another related problem. Concerns about family status and security decline, spousal fidelity, and family rivalry between family members also increased anxiety among these women.

Cassel and Van Vorst (1961) noted that social adjustment problems which arose from the subjects' feelings about the inequality of justice was also frequently reported and intensely felt. To the subjects, inequality of justice meant that only
those who were caught had to serve a sentence, although many others had also committed a crime. Another type of social adjustment problem was encountered when others were unable to accept the individual's justification of her crime. Subjects also expressed worries about not developing effective peer affiliations. Failure to do so could produce much anxiety for an inmate who had been suspected of breaching the fidelity of her peer group. Concerns with social stigma on oneself and on one's family, including children, presented yet another social adjustment problem to these inmates.

In a later study of female inmates at the California Institution for Women, Ward and Kassebaum (1965) interviewed 832 women to examine the social organization of the women's prison. Elucidating the pains of imprisonment among the women, the researchers noted that, while female inmates at Fronterra experienced material deprivations to a lesser degree than did male inmates in other institutions, "... the dispossession of familial roles of wife, and the separation from family are more severe" (p.28). Ward and Kassebaum (1965) explained that female inmates entered the institution with identities and self-conceptions which had been fundamentally built upon familial roles. Compared to men, women are dependent on the family for more of their satisfactions (p.70-72).

Like Ward and Kassebaum (1965), Giallombardo (1966) studied the social structure among women inmates. She interviewed 635 inmates at the Federal Reformatory for Women, Alderson, an
institution with both maximum- and minimum-security facilities for women offenders. Highlighting the differential experiences of deprivation between male and female inmates, Giallombardo pointed out that deprivation of security occurs on a different level among women inmates. Unlike their male counterparts, "courage", "nerve", and "toughness" -- concepts which arouse much anxiety among male inmates (Sykes, 1958) -- were not meaningful to the female inmates and did not arouse anxiety among them (Giallombardo, 1966, p99). However, Giallombardo speculated that, "The hardest part of living in a prison is to live with other women" (p.99). Instead of being concerned about being a victim of physical aggression or sexual exploitation, deprivation of security was experienced in terms of being forced to live with other untrustworthy women who were believed to be capable of predatory tactics (Giallombardo, 1966, p.100).

Fox (1982b) reviewed his findings on the problems encountered by female inmates at the Bedford Hills Prison, New York. Referring mainly to his results from interviews, survey data, and observations of 223 women in an earlier study (Fox, 1982a), Fox (1982b) reported that the main sources of concerns were: 1) chaos and confusion in rule interpretation and enforcement, 2) loss of adult status and self-image, and 3) concerns about children.

Rule interpretation and enforcement were perceived by Fox's subjects to be inconsistent (1982b). In addition, inmates explained that response to their routine requests was slow,
causing frequent arguments between inmates and staff. Fox (1982b) believed that such pressures had reduced the tolerance for frustration among inmates. Consequently, inmates often reacted overtly, or even resorted to tranquilizing drugs.

Being made to feel powerless and dependent was another source of stress for the female inmates (Fox, 1982b). Inmates were frustrated when the staff communicated with them at a parent-to-child level, contributing to a loss of adult status and self-image.

Concerns about children arose when one had given birth shortly after imprisonment, or when one was separated from her children (Fox, 1982b). Fox observed that inmates were afraid that their children would cease to see them as their mothers, or were concerned that their children were not receiving adequate care. The inmates' stress threshold was often reduced as a consequence of their feelings of guilt and anxiety about their children (Fox, 1982b).

Baunach (1985) interviewed inmate-mothers, non-mothers, and staff in three institutions: the Kentucky Correctional Institution for Women, the Daniel Boone Career Development Centre in Kentucky, and the Purdy Treatment Centre for Women (which is currently named Washington Correctional Centre for Women). Subjects were two-hundred and eighty-four inmates. Baunach explored the psychological effects of mother-and-child separation during incarceration, and examined the efforts made
by the institutions to maintain mother-and-child relationships.

Problems encountered by inmate-mothers, who varied in terms of age and race were reported to be different (Baunach, 1985). In her study on the problems encountered by mother-inmates in different age-groups, it was revealed that concerns about separation from children were most severely experienced by mothers over 35 years of age, and by mothers of infants.

Baunach (1985) reported that black inmate-mothers were more satisfied with the living-arrangements of their children than were white inmate-mothers. Baunach suggested that this might be due to the higher likelihood among blacks to have their children placed with relatives in their extended families, while children of white mothers were more likely to be placed with non-relatives. More blacks than whites were found to have custody of their children during incarceration (Baunach, 1985). Baunach speculated that this might be because blacks were more likely to have their parents take care of the children during the separation. Regardless of race, feelings of inadequacy, despondency, and fear of losing their children were shared by these mothers (Baunach, 1985).

The present researcher (Pang, 1986) explored the concerns of 21 female inmates in a British institution (Pang, 1986). Data were analyzed in terms of age, length of time spent in the institution, and whether or not the inmate's family members were residing in the U.K. at the time of study.
Findings from the study showed that older subjects (over 25 years old) whose family members were not residing in the U.K., and who had spent a shorter time in the prison (less than six months) were most concerned with their physical and mental health. They frequently felt depressed, lonely, and anxious, and missed their friends outside the institution. On the other hand, subjects who were under 25 years of age who had spent a longer length of time in the institution (over six months) had missed a good quality of life to the largest extent.

Summary of Studies on Female Inmates

Studies investigating the sources of concerns faced by female inmates found that these women's problems were similar to those of male inmates.

Concerns about social relationships with the "outside world" were most frequently expressed by female inmates (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961; Ward and Kassebaum, 1966; Fox, 1982a, 1982b; Baunach, 1985). In particular, separation from family and children was perceived by the women as a major problem (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961; Ward and Kassebaum, 1966; Fox, 1982a, 1982b; Baunach, 1985). Further, Baunach (1985) reported that the extent to which inmate-mothers were concerned with their children varied with the age and race of the inmate and the age of the children. Concerns about children were most intense among inmate-mothers who were over 35 years of age, and for mothers of infants. Black mothers expressed more satisfaction with the
placement of the children than white mothers. Other issues related to concerns about relationships with the "outside" were worries about social stigma on oneself and on one's family (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961).

Aside from being concerned about social relations with the "outside", females inmates were also concerned about their social relationships within the institution. Anxiety arose owing to the inmates' inability to gain information to establish consistent expectations (Ward and Kassebaum, 1966) and as a result of chaos and confusion in rule interpretation and enforcement (Fox, 1982b). Concerns about social relationships with other inmates were also expressed. Findings from Cassel and Van Vorst's study (1961) revealed that inmates were preoccupied with their social relationships with other inmates, in that developing effective peer affiliation was expressed as one of their social adjustment problems.

Another source of concerns frequently reported by female inmates arose from the loss of liberty (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966). Like their male counterparts, the loss of liberty entailed the loss of autonomy, and the loss of adult status and self-image (Fox, 1982b).

Other concerns reported by incarcerated women were those relating to physical safety (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966), concerns about self-adjustment problems (Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961), and deprivations of material goods
(Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Pang, 1986). However, as noted by Ward and Kassebaum, deprivations of material goods were experienced to a lesser degree within prisons for women than in those for men, owing to the more favourable environmental conditions found in the former type of prisons.

Relevant Studies on Perceptions of Mental Health Among the Non-incarcerated Population

Insight into problems encountered by incarcerated individuals has been gained not only from prison research, but also from studies on the non-incarcerated population. Some of the problems faced by the latter would be found among incarcerated individuals also, although such problems could be experienced at a different magnitude. One area of study which has particular relevance to the present research is that conducted on the "normal" population's subjective views of their psychological well-being. Findings from such studies might lend further insight into how inmates might perceive their mental health during incarceration.

Gurin, Veroff, and Feld (1960) carried out a nationwide survey on Americans to examine feelings of adjustment among American adults twenty years of age or over. A representative cross-section of American adults living in private households were selected by area sampling. Responses from 1077 men and 1383 women were analyzed to identify the problems of adjustment, and
solutions to such problems. Of particular interest to the present study is the researchers' investigation of "symptom patterns". Perceptions of health were examined in relation to demographic variables and other variables in their study. Gurin and his colleagues (1960) employed a checklist of twenty symptom items, which consisted of items developed by two community studies, Midtown (Rennie, 1953) and MacMillan's (1957) Stirling County study, in which the majority of Stouffer's (1950) questions on physiologic feelings were included (MacMillan, 1957). As a result, Gurin's (1960) list of symptom items also resemble many of those in Stouffer's (1950) study. Items in the "Symptom List" were viewed as different means of expressing emotional stress and disturbance (Gurin et al, 1960).

Underlying the structure of the Symptom List were four factors: The first factor, Psychological Anxiety, was characterized by a higher incidence of nervousness and that of a conscious distress state without a specific localization in the body (Gurin et al, 1960). Physical Health, the second factor, was concerned about ill-health or bodily complaints. The third factor, Immobilization, was described as occurring when one has difficulty getting up in the morning which indicated a lack of integration, instead of immediate psychological difficulty (Gurin et al, 1960). Symptoms of intense anxiety characterized the fourth factor of Physical Anxiety (Gurin et al, 1960).

Different expressions of psychological distress among subjects from different demographic backgrounds emerged from
Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) findings. Higher factor scores were observed among female subjects on each symptom factor, suggesting that more psychological distress in somatic symptomology was expressed by women than by men (Gurin et al, 1960).

Age was reported by Gurin and his colleagues to be another factor influencing perceptions of psychological well-being. Symptoms of Physical Health and those of Physical Anxiety were reported more often by both men and women in the older age-groups. Further, older women manifested symptoms of Psychological Anxiety more often than did younger women. Younger men and women, on the other hand, showed more symptoms of Immobilization.

Subjects from different education levels also displayed symptoms of psychological distress of different nature. The researchers found higher incidence of Physical Health and Physical Anxiety symptoms endorsed by men and women with lower education levels. In particular, symptoms of both types were manifested most frequently among those with grade-school education than were among subjects from high-school education, while physical symptoms were noted by subjects with college-education more often than were by those with only high-school education (Gurin et al, 1960).

Another study on psychological well-being of non-incarcerated individuals was carried out by Bradburn (1969).
Employing a social-psychological approach to the study of mental health, Bradburn focused his investigation on the relationship between a person's life situation and his psychological reactions to that particular situation (Bradburn, 1969). He conceptualized psychological well-being as a day-to-day experience, instead of a personality trait. Bradburn (1969) viewed an individual's position on the dimension of psychological well-being as being a result of his, or her, position on the two independent dimensions of positive affect and negative affect. He explained that the individual is regarded as high in psychological well-being where there are more positive experiences than negative ones, and low in psychological well-being where the reversed pattern is found. Therefore, the larger the excess of positive over negative affect, the higher the overall rating of psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1969).

Bradburn (1965) measured psychological well-being with an "Affect Balance Scale". Composed of five positively-worded items for assessing positive affect, and five negatively-worded items for assessing negative affect, the Affect Balance Scale comprises two independent scales, the Positive Affect and Negative Affect Scales. By taking the difference between the total scores of the Negative and Positive Affect Scales, the remaining "Affect Balance Score" can indicate whether the individual has been experiencing predominantly positive or negative affects. The Affect Balance Score has been shown to be
a good predictor of one's current psychological well-being (Bradburn, 1969; Harding, 1982).

Bradburn (1969) also examined how the two scales were related to the extent of social participation and novelty, and to other indicators of mental health, by examining the involvement in one's environment, and mental health. The extent of social participation was measured by examining an individual's degree of involvement in the social environment. Four other aspects of indicators of mental health were investigated through five different measures: the first aspect of mental health was self-evaluation of mood and life-satisfactions, measured by questions on avowed happiness and life satisfactions, and by items which were used for assessing positive and negative affects.

The second aspect, principal worries, was examined by employing Srole and his colleagues' (1962) method of measuring the extensity of worries as well as Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) method of measuring the intensity worries (Bradburn, 1969).

The third aspect of inquiry was concerned about physical symptoms, which were examined by using a list developed from some of the items in Stouffer's (1950) list of physiologic feelings:

The fourth aspect, psychological anxiety, was measured with two methods: a psychological anxiety index composed of three
items and Gurin and his colleague's (1960) question on whether or not the subject had ever felt that he, or she, was going to have a nervous breakdown (Bradburn, 1969).

Bradburn's (1969) findings showed that the Positive Affect Scale was related only to the extent of social participation and novelty, while the Negative Affect Scale was correlated with only physical symptoms and psychological anxiety.

Subjects with different demographic characteristics have reported significantly different affective moods. Bradburn (1969) noted that negative experiences were reported more frequently by women than were by men.

Younger men and women were found to have experienced more positive and negative affects than older people, reflecting that younger people perceived more positive and negative experience, while the life of older people becomes progressively bland (Bradburn, 1969).

Subjects from different socio-economic backgrounds also showed different levels of affective states. Men and women from higher income groups and those who have achieved higher education levels had more positive experiences (Bradburn, 1969).
Summary of Studies on Perceptions of Mental Health Among the Non-incarcerated Population

The respective studies carried out by Gurin and his colleagues (1960) and by Bradburn (1969) showed that, among the various methods of assessing an individual's mental health, measurements of psychosomatic symptoms and affective states can provide good indicators of one's level of psychological well-being.

Differences in psychological well-being were found to be related to differences in demographic characteristics. Gurin and his colleagues (1960) noted that symptoms of psychological anxiety were reported more frequently among older women, and that symptoms of physical problems and physical anxiety were manifested older people of both sexes more frequently than did younger ones. Younger women, on the other hand, showed higher incidence of having difficulties in getting up in the morning. Differences were also found between individuals with different educational achievement. Symptoms of physical problems and physical anxiety were manifested more frequently by men and women with lower levels of education.

Bradburn's (1969) findings indicated that low levels of psychological well-being were reflected in expressions of an excess of negative over positive affects. Further, Bradburn (1969) found that expressions of negative affect was related to manifestations of physical problems and levels of psychological
anxiety, while positive affect was related to the degree of social participation.

Subjects with different demographic characteristics have reported significantly different affective moods. Negative experiences were reported more frequently by women than were by men. Younger men and women were found to have experienced more positive and negative affects than older people. Men and women from higher income groups and those who have achieved higher education levels had more positive experiences (Bradburn, 1969).

Of particular relevance to the present study are Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) and Bradburn's (1969) findings that different types of psychosomatic symptoms and affective states were manifested by individuals who differed in terms of age and educational levels. In the light of Gurin and his colleagues' results, one might suggest that the extent to which psychosomatic symptoms are manifested among an incarcerated population is likely to be magnified under prison-related stress. Further, in view of Bradburn's (1969) findings that reports of negative experiences were related to the incidence of physical symptoms and symptoms of psychological anxiety, one might speculate individuals who live under a prison-environment might report high levels of negative experiences, and that reports of such feelings are likely to be accompanied by high incidence of physical problems and psychological anxiety. In addition, findings from the the non-incarcerated population indicated that different groups of individuals are likely to be
functioning at different levels of psychological well-being during incarceration.
RATIONALE FOR THE PRESENT STUDY

Research on incarcerated offenders has provided a better understanding of their concerns. Nevertheless, there are a number of factors that suggest a need for additional study. Most studies were carried out at institutions for men (Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966; Fox, 1982b). Although some research has also been carried out at women's prisons, primary attention was usually focused on an examination of the social organizations of the institutions (e.g. Fox, 1982b; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966). As a result, any consideration of the women's problems was mainly from a sociological point of view. Information on the sources of women's problems was subsequently viewed as a tool to gain an understanding of how social structures were formed in prison.

Cassel and Van Vorst (1961) did attempt to characterize female inmates' problems in order to provide better understanding for planning of programmes and services in women's institutions. The researchers did not, however, assess differences in problems among various groups of women within the same institution. Demographic data were not gathered, therefore no comparisons between different groups of women were made.

Despite Fox's (1982b) effort to identify the problems faced by female inmates, observations were based on his earlier study (Fox, 1982a), in which demographic characteristics were used mainly to characterize the inmates of the institution as a
whole, rather than to investigate the problems between different groups of women. A further limitation of his study stemmed from the nature of his research instrument. Fox (1982a) pointed out that his instrument was based on one used with male inmates, which was later modified for use with his female sample. Therefore he (Fox, 1982a) explained that the variables in his study might not have validly depicted the values and experiences of female inmates. Consequently, one might speculate that his descriptions of female inmates' problems in his later study (Fox, 1982b) might not have been an accurate portrayal of the population's concerns.

While the research instrument in Baunach's (1985) study was compiled specifically for female inmates, Baunach limited her study to psychological consequences of mother-and-child separation and to how maintenance of mother-and-child relationships was facilitated by the institutions. Other aspects of concerns were therefore not explored, such as those relating to social relationships with other peers and staff in the institution, and concerns about one's mental and physical health during incarceration.

Although some studies have investigated expressions of concerns about mental health among incarcerated individuals (e.g. Cohen and Taylor, 1972; Richards, 1978), Gurin's (1960) and Bradburn's (1969) methods of examining mental health through assessing psychological well-being were not employed in such studies. In view of Gurin's (1960) and Bradburn's (1969) results
from their respective efforts to assess psychological well-being in the general population, it appeared interesting for the present study to explore the psychological well-being of an incarcerated sample, through examining the subjects' manifestations of somatization of distress and their affective state. Of particular interest to the present study was whether or not inmates' expressions of negative feelings would be related to manifestations of symptoms of psychological anxiety and physical problems, as was the case demonstrated by the non-incarcerated population in Bradburn's (1969) study.

In an attempt to address the aforementioned shortcomings of previous research, and in order to examine female inmates' expressions of concerns about mental health, a single study was designed to explore and identify the following concerns among different groups of female inmates in one correctional institution: 1) expressions of concerns about physical and mental health; 2) assessment of psychological well-being; 3) concerns about maintaining social relationships within the prison; 4) concerns about maintaining social relationships with the "external world"; and 5) the perceptions of limitations in experience.

Ages, racial backgrounds, educational levels, lengths of sentence, and the lengths of time already spent in prison vary widely among female inmates in a particular institution, partly due to the existence of fewer institutions for females than for males.
In order to reflect the values and experiences of female inmates, the research instrument was specifically constructed for female inmates. Items were not limited to those which have been based on studies of male inmates, but also embraced items derived from interviews with female inmates (e.g. Baunach, 1985; Pang, 1986).

The general expectations for this project were that female inmates who differed in terms of their age, race, education, length of time already spent in the prison, and length of sentence would identify different types and levels of concerns. They were also expected to differ in terms of degree of psychological well-being.

Specifically, younger inmates were expected to be preoccupied with different problems from those perceived by older inmates. For instance, younger inmates might have been more concerned about physical safety (Toch, 1977) and personal relationships (Johnson, 1976), while older inmates might be more worried about family-oriented problems, particularly problems about their younger children (Baunach, 1985).

In view of the findings that inmates in different racial groups had differential interpretations of problems (Toch, 1977; Johnson, 1976), race was expected to be correlated with concerns expressed by subjects in the present study. For example, blacks were likely to be more concerned with support from other people (Toch, 1977), while whites were expected to be more preoccupied
with physical safety and lack of social stimulation (Toch, 1977).

Individuals with different levels of education were expected to manifest different levels of psychological well-being, as was the case in Bradburn's (1969) study. Subjects with lower levels of education were expected to report more negative experiences in their daily lives, while more positive affect might be reported by subjects who have pursued higher education.

Further, inmates facing different lengths of sentence were expected to be concerned with different problems. Maintaining familial and personal relationships, for instance, might be of more concern to women serving a lengthier sentence. Physical health was another problem about which women with a long sentence were expected to be particularly preoccupied.

Similarly, inmates who differed in terms of the time they had already spent in a particular institution were expected to perceive their problems differently. Inmates who have spent a longer time in incarceration, for example, might be more concerned about people in the "outside" world, as was the case in Richards' (1978) study.

Not only were the various sources of concerns expected to be perceived differently by different groups of inmates, but certain issues were also expected to be viewed by most subjects as more problematic than other issues.
Sampling and Subject Selection

Random selection was employed to obtain a representative sample from the total population at Washington Correctional Center For Women (WCCW). Every fifth inmate was selected from an alphabetically-ordered name list, which included the names of 224 inmates at WCCW on the 1st of November, 1988. This method of systematic random selection yielded an initial sample of forty-four cases. Then because of resource availability and the fact that some refusals were expected, the same selection procedure was used to sample an additional 17 cases for a total of 61. At the time of study, ten inmates within this sample had already left WCCW, but due to administrative lag-time, their names had not been omitted from the alphabetical name list used for sampling. Four other inmates from the sample were excluded from the study as a result of prominent mental health problems. These fourteen inmates were replaced by using the same sampling method. Eleven inmates from the final list declined to participate in the study. Consequently, 50 interviews were completed.
Interview Protocol

The interview protocol (Appendix 1) included five sections: 1) Perceptions of Health (Section I), 2) Psychological Well-being (Section V), 3) Perceptions of Internal Social Relationships (Section II), 4) Perceptions of External Social Relationships (Section III), 5) Concerns about Limitations of Experience (Section IV).

The Health Subscale (Section I)

The Health subscale sought subjective perceptions of the inmate's physical and mental health in general. Items 1 to 19, 21 to 27, and 30 to 32 were adapted from the "Symptom List" employed by Gurin and his colleagues (1960, p.419-p.422). Item 20, "... smoke more than you should" was based on the item "... drink more than you should" from Gurin's study (1960), and was revised to suit the present sample. Item 28, "... worried about gaining or losing weight", was derived from Pang (1986).

Psychological Well-being (Section V)

The Affect Balance Scale (ABS) was administered at the end of the questionnaire. The ABS determines the subject's position on the dimension of psychological well-being. The five items related to positive affect (items 83, 85, 87, 89, 91) and the five associated with negative affect (items 84, 86, 88, 90, 92) were taken from Bradburn's study (1969).
The Internal Social Relationships Subscale (Section II)

The Internal Social Relationships subscale explored the nature of social relationships within the institution. Items 37 to 40 examined the inmates' perceptions of interpersonal relationships with other people at WCCW, and were derived from Pang (1986). The item on physical safety (item 45) was adapted from Toch's (1977) study. Items on seeking help with personal problems (items 44 to 46) were adapted from the questionnaire in the Gurin study (Gurin et al., 1960). Item 47 which examined why some inmates have not sought help with their personal problems, was adapted from Pang (1986).

The External Social Relationships Subscale (Section III)

The External Social Relationships subscale assessed the extent to which the inmate missed social relationships with family and friends in the "outside world". The item concerned with worries about weakening of the mother-and-child relationship (item 61), was developed from Fox's (1982a) findings, while the item on sexual frustration (item 68) was adapted from Richard's (1978) questionnaire. Items on missing family (items 48 to 53), missing children (items 54, 55), missing friends (items 64 to 65), and missing a close partner living outside the prison (Items 66, 67) were adapted from Pang (1986).
The Limitations of Experiences Subscale (Section IV)

The Limitations of Experiences subscale measured the extent to which the inmate missed luxury goods, and the freedom to carry out certain activities. All items, except item 76 ("... missed not having luxury goods..."), were adapted from Pang (1986). Item 76 was adapted from Richard's (1978) study.

Procedure

The Physical Setting

Washington Correctional Center For Women (WCCW), named Purdy Treatment Center for Women until 1988, is situated at Purdy, near Tacoma, Washington state. WCCW houses all adult women who are sentenced to a state institution in the Washington state. Facilities for some women sentenced under federal laws or transferred from other institutions are also offered at WCCW on a contractual basis. At the time of the present study (November, 1988), there was a total of 224 inmates at WCCW.

Enclosed within the security perimeter are five single-storeyed living-units: the reception and diagnostic unit, the maximum security unit, and three medium security units. A minimum security unit (MSU), an eleven-apartment complex, houses twenty restricted-minimum and minimum security inmates. Aside from the living-units, the "campus" comprises: a dining-hall used by both staff and inmates, gymnasium, clinic, a two-bedroom trailer used for extended family visits, two trailers used by
part of the mental health staff, a school building which adjoins a library and a chapel, the administration building, a canteen for inmates to purchase their necessities, a maintenance shop, steam-plant, and a greenhouse.

*Interview Procedure*

Interviews with participants were conducted between November and December, 1988. Most interviews were carried out in the second week of the researcher's arrival at WCCW. Apart from attending "orientation" sessions with other newly recruited staff, the first week was utilized by the researcher as a period for familiarizing herself to the physical and social environments of the institution. Both of these exercises in the first week were important to this study. The orientation sessions provided the researcher an opportunity to obtain information on major administrative policies at WCCW. The sessions also provided insights into how certain issues are viewed and approached by the administrators at WCCW.

Familiarization with the physical environment of the institution could lend further understanding to concerns arising from related issues. Familiarization with the social environment is of particular importance to the present study, in that it could strengthen its validity. Efforts were made by the researcher to maximize social contacts with the general population at WCCW. Women housed in medium and minimum security units are allowed to remain outside their living-units after...
work or study schedules. The researcher was thus able to talk with some women within a relatively casual setting. Aside from using such occasions to initiate awareness of the present study in the institution, informal interactions with inmates also offered invaluable opportunities for the researcher to establish favourable rapport with the women. Further, by talking to the women informally, the researcher was able to become more aware of some general issues concerning living at WCCW, so that data from interviews with subjects could be analyzed within a broader context.

When subjects in the sample were contacted for participation, the researcher approached each selected subject individually in the latter's living-unit. A private office in each unit is available for the counsellor to meet with inmates. This office was used by the researcher to meet briefly with each potential subject in the sample. Neither the counsellor nor correctional officers were in the office during these meetings. Establishing rapport with potential subjects at this initial meeting was influential upon the validity of this study. In many cases, this was the only opportunity for the researcher to assure the subject that information yielded by her would be used in a constructive manner, rather than being used against her in her prison record. Subjects' confidence in participation in the study might strengthen the validity of its findings.

Each of these initial meeting was commenced by the researcher introducing herself as a student who was not employed
by the institution. The researcher explained to each inmate the selection process for subjects, and the purpose and procedures of the study. In particular, assurance of confidentiality of participation was emphasized. Interviews were scheduled with those who expressed interest in the study. No further contact was made with those who declined participation. Before each interview, the inmate was given the "Information Sheet" (Appendix 2) which summarized the information already presented to the inmate in the initial meeting. For most cases, the "Information Sheet" was read to the inmate by the researcher to avoid possible literacy problems. For the same reason, information on a "Consent Form" (Appendix 3) was read to the participant, and subsequently signed by her before the interview commenced. During each interview, the interview protocol was placed between the researcher and the subject, so that the latter could see all information which was being recorded throughout the interview. Each subject was also asked to raise their concerns over the recorded information, and that changes to such information would be made until she was satisfied. These steps were taken in order to ensure that each subject could entrust in the researcher to accurately record only those information with which the former was willing to depart. Data obtained from subjects who entrusted that information in her interview would not jeopardize her prison records could strengthen the validity of the findings.
Frequency and Intensity Scales

Responses for most items in the questionnaire were given on a frequency scale: never, rarely, sometimes, very often, all the time, no opinion; or on an intensity scale: not at all, a little, moderate, very, extremely, no opinion. Open-ended questions were used for some items. Items were verbally presented to individual subjects. For items which involved the frequency or intensity scales, the subjects were presented with the response options on cards.

Treatment of Data

Categorization of Variables for Data Analyses

In an effort to examine whether perceptions of concerns differed among various groupings of incarcerated women, data from the interviews were analyzed in terms of age, race, education, total current length of sentence (starting on the day the sentence was received, regardless of the location of the institution at which the sentence was commenced), and length of time already spent at WCCW under the current sentence (from the date of reception at WCCW until the date of interview).

Age

For some analytical purposes, three age-groups were formed: a group which represented the younger inmates under 29 years of
age, a second group which represented inmates in the middle age-range of 30 to 39 years, and a third group which represented the older inmates who were aged 40 and over. This method of delineation of age groups was based on personal experience gained from previous interviews with the women in a British prison (Pang, 1986), and from advice provided by Mental Health staff at both the British prison and WCCW. Women who are in their thirties tend to perceive themselves as considerably more mature than those in their late 20's, while women who are aged 29 still perceive themselves as much younger than those who are 30 years of age. It was thus expected that women aged 29 or under might share concerns which were different from those who were 30 years of age or over. A similar rationale underlay the differentiation between subjects who were 39 years of age or under, and those aged 40 or over. It should also be pointed out that, at the time of study, the oldest inmate in the entire population at WCCW was under the age of 70, therefore no "elderly" inmates could be identified in this population. Interview data from subjects between 60 and 70 years of age (n = 2) were thus analyzed within the same category as those aged 40 or over.

Race

Analysis of the demography of the present sample showed a predominance of white subjects over subjects from other racial backgrounds. The creation of categories to accommodate distinct
racial groups would have resulted in extremely small cell sizes for the non-white proportion of the sample. Therefore, racial background was simply dichotomized into white and non-white categories.

Education

In examining whether subjects from different educational backgrounds expressed different types of problems, the basic education categories were used for analyses. These were: No schooling; some elementary school; completed elementary school; some high school; some community or technical college or nursing school; completed community or technical college or nursing school; some university or teacher's college; and completed university or teacher's college.

Total Length of Sentence

In order to analyze the data in terms of the subjects' total sentence length, three categories were employed: less than 2 years, 2 to 9 years, and 10 years or over.

As shown in Toch's study (1977), inmates in the above categories of sentence lengths perceived different concerns. Furthermore, informal discussions and interviews with the women at a British institution (Pang, 1986) and at WCCW suggested that most women whose sentence is under two years tend to perceive the time-span to be spent in incarceration as a relatively short
one. On the other hand, among those facing a sentence of 10 years or over, the future time-perspective to be faced under incarceration is seen as much longer, to such an extent that some saw it as almost never-ending, even when the sentence is a determinate one. In addition, the distribution of sentence lengths in the present sample showed that approximately one-third of the subjects were serving a sentence of less than two years, a second third serving two to nine years, and a third group serving ten years or over.

Length of Time Already Served at WCCW

With respect to the length of time already which they have already spent in WCCW, the data were examined in terms of two groups: less than six months, and six months and over.

While being incarcerated poses many problems for all inmates throughout their sentence, it was speculated that a difficult period of adjustment is likely to be faced during the early stages of incarceration at a particular institution. Those who have been in the institution for an extremely long time, on the other hand, appear to have developed more effective coping strategies to manage their adjustment problems. After discussion with institutional staff and some inmates, it was believed that six months is likely to be sufficient for women to atune themselves to living at WCCW.
Recoding of Missing Data

The "not stated" response to item 60, "How much have you missed your children?" (n = 1) asked of those with children, was recoded to the neutral point (3 = moderately). This value was chosen because on an intensity scale, "moderately" could imply a moderately high intensity or a moderately low intensity, thereby not forcing the "not stated" response onto either end of the scale. The "not stated" response to item 47, "How did it turn out?" (i.e. help with personal problem) (n = 1), was assigned to a separate category (0). This item was answered "yes" or "no", therefore by assigning the missing case to another category, the "not stated" response was not forced into an either positive or negative response.

Analyses of Perceptions of Health

Twenty items (items 2, 4, 11 to 27, and 30) were adopted from Gurin and his colleagues' (1969) "Symptom List". These items were intercorrelated (Pearson r) and factor-analyzed to reduce the larger set of items to a smaller set of variables representing the primary features of the larger set. The principle components analysis (PCA) procedure of SPSS-X was employed. In order to determine the number of components to be rotated, discontinuity in the eigenvalue curve on the scree plot (Cattel, 1966) was subjectively observed, and the number of components with eigenvalues greater than one noted. Three components were subsequently rotated to a varimax solution.
Analyses of Psychological Well-being

In order to verify the internal structure of the Affect Balance Scale within this sample, principal components analysis was performed on the correlation matrix for all 10 items on the scale (items 83 to 92). The structure that was identified was essentially the same as that described by Bradburn (1969). Therefore, Bradburn's (1969) procedures for obtaining Positive and Negative Affect Scores by summing the subscale items, and obtaining the Affect Balance Score by taking the difference between the subscale scores, were followed.

Validation of Responses

Responses related to concerns about post-release problems were validated to the extent that available information on training for coping with post-release life was examined. Information on the contents of the programme and that on the availability of resources for financial and social support after release were obtained from an official source.

Indications of correctional officers' understanding the problems faced by female inmates were validated by examining information on the contents of the staff-training programme at the academy and that at WCCW during orientation sessions. Eight male correctional officers and nine female correctional officers were also randomly interviewed for one week to obtain their subjective views on the extent of knowledge gained from their training regarding women inmates' problems.
RESULTS

Background Characteristics of Subjects

Subjects were 50 randomly selected female inmates at the WCCW. The participants were aged 20 to 68 years (Mean = 35.1 years; SD = 10.6 years), and were mainly white (n = 35). All subjects in the present sample had achieved some high school education or above. The majority had received some high school education (n = 30), with others having received some college education (n = 14) or having completed college education (n = 6). The length of sentences ranged from 7.9 months to life-imprisonment (median = 4.65 years). The median length of sentence which the subjects have already served at WCCW was 9.15 months. The majority of the subjects were housed in the Medium Security Units (n = 33).

Comparisons of the demographic characteristics between this sample and the total population at WCCW are presented in Tables 1 and 2. As demonstrated by the results of the comparison, the background characteristics of the sample closely resembles that of the entire population at WCCW.

Intercorrelations between Background Variables

Analyses of intercorrelations between the demographic variables and sentence variables were carried out to examine how these might be related to each other.
Table 1

Background Characteristics of Subjects (N = 50)

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<tr>
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<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>30 to 39</td>
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<td>Completed community or technical college</td>
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<tr>
<td>Murder 2</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug crime</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery 1</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary 2</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle homicide</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent liberties</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other felony</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>8.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other property</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total sentence length (months) Mean = 101.25 SD = 106.64
Length of current sentence already served at WCCW (months) Mean = 18.03 SD = 28.06
### Table 2

**Background Characteristics of Total Population at WCCW (N = 224)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Age-groups</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>18 to 29</td>
<td>79</td>
<td>35.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>30 to 39</td>
<td>99</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>40 and over</td>
<td>46</td>
<td>20.5</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>150</td>
<td>67.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Black</td>
<td>51</td>
<td>22.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>3.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North American Indian</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>2.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Education level**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Charge under current sentence</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Theft</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>7.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder 1</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>12.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murder 2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drug crime</td>
<td>44</td>
<td>19.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery 1</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>12.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery 2</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>8.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault 1</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assault 2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Burglary 2</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>4.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Forgery</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vehicle homicide</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manslaughter 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robbery</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Indecent liberties</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other felony</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other property</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arson 1 &amp; 2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kidnap 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Statutory rape 1</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rape 2</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Non-violent sex crime against children</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other sex crime</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Total sentence length (months)** Mean = 111.94 SD = 125.71

**Length of current sentence already served at WCCW (months)** Mean = 21.09 SD = 31.12
Age and sentence length was significantly correlated \((r = 0.38, p<0.003)\), such that older subjects were serving a longer sentence than were younger ones. Age was also significantly correlated with education \((r = 0.47, p< 0.000)\), implying that older subjects had higher education levels.

Total length of sentence was significantly correlated with length of sentence already served at WCCW \((r = 0.41, p<0.002)\), such that subjects who faced a longer sentence tended to have been at WCCW for a longer period.

A crosstabulation analysis revealed no other notable relationships.

**Perceptions of Health**

Items comprising the Health section of the questionnaire will be divided for the presentation of the results into those which were constituents of Gurin's Symptom List and those which are not. The latter will be considered first.

**Items Not Part of Gurin's Symptom List**

Responses to items not part of the Symptom List showed that the incidence of having had hay fever \((n = 16)\) and skin problems \((n = 16)\) were higher than that of having asthma \((n = 7)\) and stomach ulcers \((n = 7)\).

Responses to item 31 revealed that, among those who have felt as if they were going to have a nervous breakdown in the
past, 9 subjects had such a feeling during incarceration at WCCW. Among the 7 major factors which they related to such experiences (item 32), 4 of the factors were related to coping with the subject's sentence length, while 3 were related to familial problems outside the institution. Of the 8 types of actions taken when such feelings were experienced at WCCW, "kept problem to myself" (n = 5), "talked to psychiatrist" (n = 5), and "talked to psychiatric social worker" (n = 3) were frequently chosen. Medical staff, the subject's personal counsellor, another inmate, and friends from outside WCCW were also sources of assistance which some women have approached. One subject attempted suicide.

Concerns about weight change since incarceration (item 28) were expressed by the majority of subjects (n = 38). Responses to item 29 indicated that this was a frequently experienced concern (Mean = 3.40, SD = 1.63). Among women who were concerned about their weight, 84.2% were worried about a weight gain (item 28).

Symptom List Items

In response to item 2, 50% of the sample reported having had some particular physical problem. Fifty percent of the subjects had felt that they were going to have a nervous breakdown in the past (item 30).

Ratings for those items evaluated on a frequency scale were low to moderately high, ranging from "never" to "very often".
Mean frequency ratings of items in the Symptom List are presented in Table 3. Having difficulties with getting up in the morning (item 16), feeling nervous, fidgety, and tense (item 12), having trouble with sleep (item 11), and smoking more than one should (item 20) were reported as more frequent experiences than were other items.

In order to replace the larger set of variables with a reduced subset representing the largest amount of variance, the twenty items were subjected to a principal components analysis. Loadings of the items on the three rotated principal components are presented in Table 4. Factor loadings of less than 0.30 were blanked from the table for simplification of presentation. The proportion of variance accounted for by the first component after rotation was 19.85%. As was shown in Table 4, variables with high loadings on this factor --- "hands tremble" (item 24), "lose weight because bothered by something" (item 23), "nightmare" item 22, and "hands sweating" (item 25) --- share the common characteristics of psychological anxiety. Factor scores ranged from -0.22 to 2.60.

The second rotated component accounted for 15.76% of the variance. This factor appears to describe somatization of distress, as indicated by the items with high loadings on this factor --- "ill-health affected work" (item 17), "trouble with sleep" (item 11), "nervous, fidgety and tense" (item 12), and "physical problems" (2). Factor scores ranged from -0.16 to 3.30.
Table 3
Mean Ratings of Symptom List Items (N = 50)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Mean</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Trouble with sleep *</td>
<td>3.02</td>
<td>1.27</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervous, fidgety, &amp; tense *</td>
<td>2.86</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headaches *</td>
<td>2.50</td>
<td>1.31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of appetite *</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upset stomach *</td>
<td>2.46</td>
<td>1.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to get up in the morning *</td>
<td>2.84</td>
<td>1.40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-health affected work *</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shortness of breath *</td>
<td>2.18</td>
<td>1.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart beating hard *</td>
<td>1.90</td>
<td>1.06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke more than you should *</td>
<td>3.44</td>
<td>1.55</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dizziness *</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nightmare *</td>
<td>1.92</td>
<td>1.03</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lose weight because bothered *</td>
<td>2.28</td>
<td>1.36</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands tremble *</td>
<td>1.70</td>
<td>.99</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands sweating *</td>
<td>1.82</td>
<td>1.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Could not take care of things *</td>
<td>2.48</td>
<td>1.13</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Feel healthy enough to do things **</td>
<td>1.94</td>
<td>.24</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Response scales for * items:
1 = never; 2 = rarely; 3 = sometimes; 4 = very often; 5 = all the time

Response scale for ** item:
1 = yes; 2 = no
Table 4

Principle Components of Symptom List Items After Varimax Rotation

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>Psychological Anxiety</th>
<th>Somatization of Distress</th>
<th>Extreme Physical Anxiety</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hands tremble</td>
<td>.75260</td>
<td></td>
<td>.33090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lose weight if bothered</td>
<td>.70287</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have nightmares</td>
<td>.63348</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hands sweating</td>
<td>.61305</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not take care of things</td>
<td>.54100</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dizzy</td>
<td>.53376</td>
<td></td>
<td>.46349</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Loss of appetite</td>
<td>.50514</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Smoke more than you should</td>
<td>.37618</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ill-health affected work</td>
<td></td>
<td>.80593</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trouble with sleep</td>
<td>.46840</td>
<td>.64485</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nervous and tense</td>
<td>.41510</td>
<td>.60212</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Physical problem</td>
<td></td>
<td>.59490</td>
<td>.42255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Healthy to do things</td>
<td>.32149</td>
<td>.56665</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Upset stomach</td>
<td>.40551</td>
<td>.50967</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Difficult to get up</td>
<td>.32710</td>
<td>.49566</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Felt going to have nervous breakdown</td>
<td>.41230</td>
<td>.41578</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Heart beating hard</td>
<td></td>
<td>.82635</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Short of breath</td>
<td></td>
<td>.57249</td>
<td>.46700</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pains and ailments</td>
<td>.39394</td>
<td>.41791</td>
<td>.44838</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Headache</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Proportion of variance 19.85% 15.76% 11.25%
The third rotated factor accounted for 11.25% of the variance. **Extreme physical anxiety** was characterized by the items which have high loadings on this factor, such as "heart beating hard" (item 19), "shortness of breath" (item 18), "pains" (h4), and "dizziness" (21). Factor scores ranged from -1.46 to 2.70.

**Symptoms Factors Related To Age, Race, Education, Total Sentence Length, and Length of Sentence already Served at WCCW**

Relationships among the Symptoms Factors and demographic characteristics were examined. Factor scores from the first three rotated factors from the Symptom List, age, race, education, total length of sentence, and length of sentence already served at WCCW were intercorrelated, using Pearson's correlation or Spearman's rho. In order to determine whether or not there were differences in the pattern of levels of concern within various inmate subgroups, the one-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was used.

No significant relationships between Factor 2, Somatization of Distress and any of the background variables were observed in the correlational matrix and ANOVA.

The correlation matrix and ANOVA showed no significant relationships between Psychological Anxiety and the background variables other than age and education.
The first factor, Psychological Anxiety, was negatively correlated with age \((r = -0.48, p<0.000)\), such that younger subjects reported a higher incidence of Psychological Anxiety, while a lower incidence was reported by older subjects. There was also a significant main effect in the one-way analysis of variance of Psychological Anxiety by age-group, \(F(2,47)=3.50, p<0.038\). Scheffe's test indicated that subjects under 29 years of age scored significantly higher (Mean = 0.37) on Psychological Anxiety than subjects over the age of 40 (Mean = -0.54), \(p<0.05\).

Education level was negatively correlated with Psychological Anxiety \((r = -0.28, p<0.026)\), such that subjects with lower levels of education manifested more symptoms of Psychological Anxiety. This correlation, however, disappeared when age was controlled \((r = -0.07, p<0.322)\). There were no significant average differences in Psychological Anxiety between age-groups.

The third Symptom List factor, Extreme Physical Anxiety, was related only to age and length of sentence. Age was significantly correlated with Extreme Physical Anxiety \((r = 0.36, p<0.005)\), indicating that those who were older were more likely to express concerns of this type. However, there were no significant average differences between age-groups.

Total length of sentence was also significantly correlated with Extreme Physical Anxiety \((r = 0.35, p<0.006)\). In addition, there was a main effect of length of sentence, \(F(2,47) = 6.65, \)
Scheffe's test showed that respondents whose sentence length is 10 years or over were significantly higher (p<0.05) on this factor (Mean = 0.62) than those whose sentence length was between 2 and 9 years (Mean = -0.34) and subjects with a sentence length of less than 2 years (Mean = -0.36).

Psychological Well-being

Frequencies of "yes" responses to the individual items of the Affect Balance Scale are shown in Table 5. With the exception of "... feel on top of the world" (item 89), over 50% of the subjects endorsed the "yes" response to all items on the Positive Affect Scale (Table 5). The mean score of responses to this scale was 7.820 (SD = 1.722). The highest frequency of "yes" response on this scale was found in item 87, "... feel pleased about having accomplished something" (82%), followed by "... feel proud because someone complimented you on something you had done" (62%).

A similar pattern was observed in responses to the Negative Affect Scale (Table 5). Aside from "feel upset because someone criticized you" (item 92), over half of the subjects answered "yes" to each of the negatively worded items. The mean score of responses to this scale was 7.88 (SD = 1.49). The highest frequency of "yes" response was found in item 88, "feel bored" (82%), followed by item 86, "feel very lonely or remote from other people" (62%) and item 90, "felt depressed or very
Table 5

**Frequencies of "Yes" Responses to Positive and Negative Affect Scales (N = 50)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Item</th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>83. Felt excited in something (+) *</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>84. Felt restless (-)</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>85. Felt proud because complimented (+)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>86. Felt lonely (-)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>87. Felt pleased because accomplished something (+)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>88. Felt bored (-)</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>82</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>89. Felt on top of the world (+)</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>90. Felt depressed (-)</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>91. Felt that things are going your way (+)</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>92. Felt upset because criticized (-)</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Items followed by (+) measure positive affect; Items followed by (-) measure negative affect.*
unhappy" (62%).

The distribution of total scores of the Positive and Negative Affect Scales are presented in Table 6. Although a high incidence of negative experiences was reported by the present sample, positive feelings were also frequently experienced by the subjects. Examination of the mean Affect Balance Score of -0.060 (SD = 2.39) revealed that, in general, only a slight excess of negative experiences over positive ones were observed in this sample. This indicated that the high incidence of negative feelings was almost counter-balanced by the incidence of positive ones.

*Psychological Well-being Related to Age, Race, Education, Total Length of Sentence, and Length of Sentence Already Served at WCCW*

The respective total scores of the Positive and Negative Affect Scales, and the Affect Balance Scores were intercorrelated with age, race, education, total length of sentence, and length of sentence already served at WCCW, and Analysis of Variance was used to identify sub-group differences in the level of Affect Balance Scale scores.

No significant relationships or mean differences were observed between the Positive Affect Scale and any of the background variables.
Table 6

Distribution of the Positive Affect and Negative Affect Scores and Affect Balance Scores (N = 50)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>n</th>
<th>Percent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Positive Affect Score</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>18.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>16.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>24.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Negative Affect Score</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>8</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>26.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>32.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Affect Balance Score</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-3</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>-2</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
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<tr>
<td>-1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>0</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>20.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>10.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>12.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>6.0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
No significant correlations or mean differences were observed between Negative Affect Scores and race.

The Negative Affect Score was negatively correlated with age ($r = -0.45$, $p<0.000$), and a main effect of age was found, $F(2,47) = 3.06$, $p<0.056$, but no two groups were found to be significantly different by the relatively conservative Scheffe's test. The means of the three respective age groups were 8.53 (20-29 years), 7.86 (30-39 years), and 7.21 (40 years and over), $p<0.05$. This indicates that younger subjects tended to report more negative affective experiences.

Education was negatively correlated with the Negative Affect Score ($r = -0.31$, $p<0.015$). There was also a main effect, $F(2,47) = 3.28$, $p<0.0464$. Scheffe's test showed that subjects who had completed community or technical college scored significantly lower on the Negative Affect Scale (Mean = 6.5) than those who had only some high school education (Mean = 8.13), $p<0.05$.

Length of sentence was negatively correlated with the Negative Affect Score ($r = -0.23$, $p<0.056$). This correlation disappeared, however, when age was used as a control variable in a partial correlation analysis ($r = -0.07$, $p<0.325$). No mean differences were observed between sentence-groups.

Finally, there were no significant correlations or mean differences between the Affect Balance Scores and any of the background variables.
As was mentioned earlier, Bradburn (1969) reported that the Negative Affect Scale was correlated with his indices on physical problems and psychological anxiety. In view of the similarities between the items in the Symptom List (Gurin et al, 1960) and those in Bradburn's (1969) physical problems and psychological anxiety indices, relationships between responses to the Affect Balance Scale and responses to the Symptom List were investigated in this study for significant relationships. Correlations between the three Symptoms Factors (Psychological Anxiety, Somatization of Distress, and Physical Anxiety) and the Affect Balance Scale scores were thus examined.

Factor 1, Psychological Anxiety was correlated with the Negative Affect Scale ($r = 0.54$, $p<0.000$), indicating that subjects who manifested less symptoms of Psychological Anxiety also tended to have experienced less negative feelings. Psychological Anxiety was also negatively correlated with the Affect Balance Score ($r = -0.35$, $p<0.006$), such that those with less symptoms of Psychological Anxiety also experienced more positive experiences over negative ones.

Factor 2, Somatization of Distress was negatively correlated with the Positive Affect Scale ($r = -0.35$, $p<0.006$), such that subjects who manifested more symptoms of Somatization of Distress were more likely to have experienced less positive feelings. A negative correlation was also observed between
Somatization of Distress and the Affect Balance Score 
\( r = -0.32, p<0.012 \), such that respondents who reported less 
symptoms of Somatization of Distress tended to have experienced 
more positive experiences over negative ones.

Factor 3, Extreme Physical Anxiety, was not correlated with 
any of the Affect Balance Scale scores.

Perceptions of Social Relationships In WCCW

Among the subjects who indicated that they had not got along 
well with the people at WCCW \( (n = 16) \), the majority of the 
problems involved other inmates and correctional officers. Other 
problems were related to counsellors and unit-supervisors. Some 
subjects felt that interactions with any staff at WCCW have been 
problematic. Seventy-five percent \( (n = 12) \) of the women who 
perceived having interpersonal problems at WCCW believed that 
such problems could be alleviated. As seen in Table 7, one of 
the respondents believed that interpersonal problems between 
inmates could be resolved through group meetings among inmates. 
Separating homosexual women from the main population was 
perceived to be the solution for protecting non-homosexual women 
from harassment. Similarly, several older respondents suggested 
that, by designating a separate living area for older women in 
each unit, quieter living conditions could be provided.

Turning to problems with correctional officers, offering 
more training to the staff regarding female offenders' problems
Table 7

Suggested Solutions to Inter-personal Problems at WCCW
(N = 12)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Solution</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Meetings with correctional officers</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train staff on inmates' problems</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate older inmates</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separate homosexuals</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Improve inmates' attitude to correctional officers</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Change entire system in WCCW</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Staff show respect for inmates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More apartments &amp; single rooms</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmates have group meetings on problems with each others'</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Train C.O.s to discipline inmates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Inmates show respect for each other</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Separated child molesters from other inmates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More counsellors</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correctional officers should be told not to harass inmates</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>More dental care needed</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
during incarceration, and discussing concerns in meetings with correctional officers were perceived by some subjects as possible solutions to improve the staff-inmates relationship. Among other solutions offered, raising the quality of correctional officers recruitment and training inmates to improve their attitudes towards correctional officers were suggested.

It was also suggested that, by increasing the number of counsellors in each unit, the amount of paper-work could be shared by more individuals, so that more time would be available for tending to inmates' problems.

Physical safety (item 42) was of concern to five women, among whom four showed a moderate degree of concern, while one was extremely concerned about the issue.

When personal problems were encountered, 68% (n = 34) of the respondents have approached someone to seek assistance (item 45). Psychiatric social workers were the main source of help (32.5%), followed by other inmates (25.0%), and the psychiatrist (15.0%). Other sources of help to which the respondents have turned included unit-counsellors, correctional officers, psychologist, and the substance-abuse counsellor. Of those who have sought help from the staff, 83.3% perceived this to have been a useful source of assistance. On the other hand, the majority of the respondents who did not turn to anyone for help with their personal problems believed that they could handle
their problems themselves \( (n = 14) \), while others \( (n = 11) \) did not approach anyone because of a lack of trust in others; one respondent perceived that no help was available for her personal problems.

Perceptions of Social Relationships In WCCW Related to Age, Race, Education, Total Length of Sentence, and Length of Sentence Already Served at WCCW

The interval variables (items 37, 39, 43, 45, and 47) used for assessing perceptions of Internal Relationships were correlated with the background variables. The oneway-ANOVA was also applied to identify sub-group differences in the level of the scores of the Internal Social Relationships items listed above.

Indications of having had inter-personal problems within WCCW (item 37) were found more often among subjects who were younger \( (r = -0.26, \ p<0.037) \). No mean differences were observed between age-groups.

Women with lower levels of education were also reported having had inter-personal problems within WCCW more often than those with higher levels of education \( (r = -0.26, \ p<0.037) \). This correlation disappeared, however, when age was used as a control variable in a partial correlation analysis \( (r = -0.16, \ p<0.137) \).

Indications of inter-personal problems were also negatively correlated with total sentence length \( (r = -0.34, \ p<0.008) \), such
that subjects with a shorter sentence were more likely to report having had social problems with people in WCCW. In addition, a main effect of sentence length was observed, \( F(2,47) = 4.43, p<0.0173 \). Scheffe's test showed that subjects who were serving a sentence of between two and nine years expressed having problems with people in the institution more frequently (Mean = 1.8824) than those facing a sentence of ten years or more (Mean = 1.39), \( p<0.05 \).

Perceptions of External Relationships

The majority of the participants had families (n = 47) living outside the institution. On average, contact with family members during incarceration has been frequent (Mean frequency rating = 3.97) On the other hand, eleven women in this study "never", or "rarely", communicated with their family members. Reasons for the lack of communication include rejection from family members after the subject's incarceration, inconvenient telephone arrangements at WCCW, the long distances in which family members live from WCCW, and court decisions.

The majority of the subjects had children (n = 35). Compared with family members and a close partner who were living outside WCCW, the women have missed their children to the greatest extent (mean intensity rating = 4.86; SD = 0.43). While in general, frequent communication was maintained with the children (mean frequency rating = 3.46; SD = 1.65), thirteen women
"never", or "rarely" communicated with them. Prohibition by the ex-spouse, or by the court, to communicate with the children, loss of contact either because the children were kidnapped by the husband to an unknown address, or children's caretaker(s) did not inform the subject of changes in address, accounted for the lack of communication between this latter group of women and their children.

Concerns about weakening of their relationship with children were expressed by 26% (n = 13) of the sample. Aside from the lack of communication due to the aforementioned reasons, such concerns arose from the fear that the caretaker would be perceived by the children as the mother, the lengthy mother-and-child separation owing to the long sentence, and from the children's perception that the subject was to be blamed for the offence. In contrast, 40% (n = 20) of the sample were not worried about the mother-and-child relationship. Good relationship and close contact maintained throughout incarceration was the main reason shared by most subjects who perceived no reason for such concerns. Several women felt that imprisonment has, in fact, strengthened the relationship with their children. Others were not worried either because their children were still infants at the time of study, and were therefore unaware of the incarceration, or because the inmate-mother has never established any relationship her child, owing to her long-term separation from the child prior to incarceration.
The majority of this sample had a close partner living outside WCCW (n = 35) and most of these women (n = 21) have missed their partner to an extreme degree (Mean = 4.44, SD = 0.89).

Feelings of missing friends who lived outside WCCW were, on average, experienced to a relatively low degree (Mean = 2.52, SD = 1.36), mainly owing to their lack of "real friends" outside the institution.

Almost half of the sample (48%) have felt sexually frustrated (Mean = 3.04; SD = 0.96) during their stay at WCCW.

Perceptions of External Relationships Related To Age, Race, Education, Total Length of Sentence, and Length of Sentence Served at WCCW

Interval variables (items 49, 50, 53, 55, 56, 58, 60, 62, 65, 67, 68, 69, and 70) which examined Perceptions of External Relationships were correlated with background variables. The oneway-ANOVA was also applied to identify sub-group differences in the level of the above External Relationships item scores.

No significant relationships or mean differences were observed between perceptions of external relationships and length of time already served at WCCW.

Significantly more younger subjects were living with their children before incarceration at WCCW (r = -0.37, p<0.016).
Age was negatively correlated with indications of having missed a close partner (item 68; n = 34; r = -0.38, p<0.015), showing that younger subjects tended to miss a closer partner to a larger extent than older ones. Younger subjects also expressed a larger degree of sexual frustration (item 70; n = 24; r = -0.39, p<0.031). No mean differences were found between age-groups.

Significantly more non-white subjects had a close partner outside WCCW (n = 34; r = 0.36, p<0.006). Missing a partner was expressed by whites to a significantly larger extent (n = 34; r = -0.28, p<0.052).

Levels of education were positively correlated with frequencies of communication with children, asked of women with children (item 53; n = 47; r = 0.28, p<0.030), indicating that women with higher levels of education have communicated with their children more often than women with lower levels of education. Education levels were negatively correlated with the extent to which the subjects have missed friends living outside WCCW (item 65; r = -0.35; p<0.006), such that women with lower educational achievement tended to miss their friends to a larger extent.

There was a main effect of total sentence length, F(2,47) = 3.39, p<0.0422. Scheffe's test showed that sexual frustration was experienced to a significantly greater extent by subjects whose sentence length was less than two years (Mean = 1.73) than
by subjects who were facing a sentence length of between two and nine years (Mean = 1.2941), p<0.05.

Limitations of Experience

Examination of the mean ratings revealed that missing the freedom to spend money the way one used to before incarceration was, on average, experienced to a large degree (Mean = 4.02). On the other hand, missing luxury goods was experienced to a lesser extent (Mean = 3.24) than were other items. Possessing a car, nice jewellery, having a wide choice of brands of make-up, hi-fi's, and nice clothes were the most frequently mentioned types of luxury goods which the majority of the participants (76%) had missed in their possession since incarceration (Table 8). Other women expressed that they had not missed luxuries at WCCW owing to one or more of the following reasons: satisfaction with the types of luxuries that were already available at WCCW, easy adjustment in WCCW because one had never possessed luxury goods even before incarceration, perceiving that possession of luxury goods is not a priority at WCCW, adoption of the belief that one is not supposed to have luxuries when incarcerated, and perceiving that luxuries are not needed at WCCW.

The majority of the women (54%) missed having a choice of food to an extreme extent. Among the minority who indicated that they had not missed having such a choice, the availability of good food at WCCW was the most commonly cited reason.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items missed</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>44.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jewellery</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>33.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hi-fi</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wide choice of make-up</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice clothes</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>25.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>T.V. &amp;/or V.C.R.</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good food</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>13.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coffee-pot</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>8.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcohol</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Horses</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Electric-blanket</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing own cooking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Furniture</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Money</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
As shown in Table 9, the types of entertainments most widely missed were sports (n = 19), music (n = 18), and movies (13).

Limitations of Experiences Related To Age, Race, Education, Total Length of Sentence, and Length of Sentence Already Served at WCCW

Interval variables (items 71, 74, 76, and 79) which assessed Limitations of Experiences were examined for correlations with background variables. The oneway-ANOVA was also employed to identify sub-group differences in the level of item scores in the above list.

No significant correlations or mean differences in sub-groups were observed between Limitations of Experiences and race or length of time already served at WCCW.

Age was negatively correlated with the extent to which subjects have missed luxury goods in WCCW (item 76; r = -0.29, p<0.021), indicating that younger women tended to miss luxury goods to a larger extent. No mean differences were observed between age-groups.

Education levels were negatively correlated with entertainments (item 71; r = -0.23, p<0.055), such that subjects with lower levels of education have missed entertainments to a larger extent. This correlation disappeared, however, when age was employed as a controlling variable in a partial correlation analysis (r = -0.22, p<0.067). Subjects with lower education
Table 9

Types of Entertainments Subjects Missed Having at WCCW (N = 43)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Entertainments</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sports</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>44.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Music</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>41.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movies</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>30.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Parties</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>23.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining-out</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social gatherings</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>14.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bingo</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>11.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Taking children out</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Theatres</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Family gatherings</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>V.C.R.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reading with boyfriend</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doing own cooking</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vacation</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
levels were shown to indicate that they have missed luxury goods to a greater degree \( r = -0.27, p<0.028 \), but this correlation also disappeared when age was used as a controlling variable in a partial correlation analysis \( r = -0.16, p<0.136 \).

There was a negative correlation between length of sentence already served at WCCW and the extent to which they have missed entertainments \( r = -0.30, p<0.017 \), such that respondents who have been at WCCW for a shorter time have missed entertainments to a larger degree than those who have been in the institution for a longer time. Length of sentence already spent at WCCW was also correlated with having missed a choice of food in the institution \( r = 0.26, p<0.032 \). This indicated that subjects who had been at WCCW for a longer time missed having a choice of food to a larger extent than those who had been there for a shorter period.

**Missing Other Items and Expressing Other Areas of Concerns**

Forty-two participants cited items which they missed other than those identified in the foregoing sections (Table 10). "Missing the freedom to do things" (31.0%) and "missing the freedom to come and go" (16.7%) were most frequently mentioned. For some women (9.5%), inability to maintain privacy in the living-unit and in correspondence was reported to be a stressful experience. Subjects who "missed male companionship" (4.8%) stressed that they had missed only the companionship component.
Table 10

Other Items which Subjects Missed Having at WCCW (N = 42)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Items</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Percentage of cases</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to do things</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>31.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to come and go</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>16.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Privacy</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>9.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dog</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shopping</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>7.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drugs</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Making own decisions</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Male companionship</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exercise</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Walks</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>4.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Individuality</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Social status</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Earning a living</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ethnic foods</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Freedom to sleep at any time</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whole fruits</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seeing cars being driven around</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own room</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Religious practices of minority</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>groups</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information on ingredients of food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Own T.V.</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magazines</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sleeping-in</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nice clothes</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camping</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Association with own ethnic group</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Romance</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining-out</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good food</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Car</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Travelling</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bike</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pets</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Home</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phones</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
of men, whereas those who expressed that they had "missed men" (9.5%) explained that they missed both the social and sexual components of men. Participants also shared the experience of missing outdoors activities (9.5%), such as camping, travelling, and taking walks. The lack of certain ethnic foods and the lack of certain religious services for minority groups were expressed by several concerned subjects. "Missing own pet" was regarded by some women (9.5%) as a major type of distress.

Problems other than those identified in the foregoing sections were cited by 37 subjects (Table 11). The most frequently cited problems were related to "bad attitudes" of the medical staff towards inmates at WCCW (54.1%), followed by dissatisfaction with administrative policies (40%), and problems with correctional officers (35.1%). Other widespread concerns were mainly related to difficulties in facing life outside the institution (29.7%), feelings of being ill-prepared for post-release adjustment owing to inadequate training at WCCW regarding seeking financial and social support after release (29.7%), and provision of insufficient employment at WCCW (27.0%). Problems with other inmates (27.0%) and with counsellors (18.9%) were also often mentioned by some participants.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Issues</th>
<th>Number of cases</th>
<th>Cases (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Problems with counsellor</td>
<td>7</td>
<td>18.9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with mental health staff</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>5.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clinic staff</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>54.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Problems with correctional officers</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>35.1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sentence length</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Post-release life</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of preparation for release</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>29.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Well-being of family</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>16.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Administrative policies</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>40.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of exercise</td>
<td>1</td>
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<td>Other inmates</td>
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<td>21.6</td>
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<td>Insufficient employment at WCCW</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>27.0</td>
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<td>Lack of educational instructors</td>
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<td>Problems with staff in general</td>
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<td>Lack of privacy</td>
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<td>Dying in prison</td>
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<td>Drugs</td>
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DISCUSSION

This study explored the extent to which four major concerns were perceived by a random sample of female inmates at Washington Correctional Center for Women. Structured interviews were conducted with each participant. The areas of examination were concerns about physical and mental health, inter-personal relationships within the institution, inter-personal relationships with people on the outside, and the perceived limitations of experiences in WCCW. In addition, psychological well-being of each subject was assessed. Perceptions of concerns in the above areas were investigated with respect to age, race, education, total length of sentence, and length of time already served at WCCW.

This sample was representative of the inmate population of WCCW. Participants in this study were between 20 to 69 years old, with an average age of 35 years, and were predominantly white. The majority of the women in this study had received some high school education. Other subjects had either received some college education or had completed college education. Subjects were serving sentences of between 7.9 months and life-imprisonment, and half of the sample had been at WCCW for approximately nine months. Older subjects were serving longer sentences than the younger ones. Educational achievement among younger participants in this study tended to be lower than that of older subjects. Women who faced longer sentences tended to have been at WCCW for a longer time. The majority of this sample
were housed in the Medium Security Units.

Perceptions of Health

Slightly over half of the women in this study reported having some physical problems, such as knee-injury, back-pain, heart problems, high blood-pressure, and cancer. In particular, hay fever and skin problems were reported more frequently than were other physical problems.

While half of the sample had felt that they were going to have a nervous breakdown in the past, only nine subjects had such feelings during incarceration at WCCW. It should be noted that this study did not investigate whether a subject did have a clinically defined nervous-breakdown subsequent to having felt that she was going to have one. No clinical data were collected because the focus of the related items was to examine the inmates' subjective assessments of mental health, and not assessments by another observer. Among subjects who had felt that they were about to have a nervous-breakdown while at WCCW, problems related to incarceration (for example, having lost an appeal and being unable to accept imprisonment), constituted the major reasons for having had such feelings. Second to these were family-related problems, such as a death in the family, children being kidnapped by their father, or a subject's properties being sold by a daughter without consent.
Among those who had felt that they were going to have a nervous breakdown while at WCCW, most subjects either kept the problem to themselves, because they did not believe that anyone else could have helped them in their crises, or they sought help from the psychiatrist at the institution. The two psychiatric social workers at WCCW were another frequently consulted source of help.

Only one subject indicated that she discussed her crisis with her counsellor. Although each inmate at WCCW is assigned a personal counsellor, findings from this study indicate that counsellors were seldom approached even in times of extreme personal crises. It seem likely that reluctance to seek assistance from counsellors was related to problems with communication between inmates and counsellors. These problems are discussed in the following section.

It appears that there were high levels of anxiety among many of the subjects in this study. This was reflected in their frequent admissions of having smoked more than they should and of having had trouble with sleep. High anxiety levels were particularly reflected by the following comments which were frequently made by some subjects: "... I get very nervous in here, so I have to smoke a lot ..."; "... I never did smoke as much, but since I got here, I've been smoking a lot more because you get very tense all the time, and smoking is the only thing that can help me ..."; "... How can I sleep properly? I worry a lot, and I think about my problems at night ... You also have to
worry about the counts in the middle of the night ... and they always wake me up when they look through the door ... "; and "... I wish I could lose weight. I eat when I'm worried, and I'm always worried about something, so I putting on weight ..."

Aside from coping with prison-related stress, some subjects pointed out that, because of the unavailability of drugs within the institution, they were having to face a variety of personal problems for the first time in their lives. For these individuals, this reality created a formerly unknown burden, arousing additional anxieties for many of these previously drug-dependent women. Such anxieties were reflected in one subject's comment, "... it's difficult for me to face my problems without drugs. Before, I take drugs whenever I have a problem, but now I can't take drugs, and I have to face my problems for the first time. Everything is coming at me for the first time ..."

Analyses of the Symptom List used in this study revealed that the list of items could be adequately described by three components, or factors. The three factors, Psychological Anxiety, Somatization of Distress, and Extreme Physical Anxiety appear to be descriptions of increasing levels of psychological anxiety. The first factor, Psychological Anxiety, was composed of items which described symptoms of anxiety and nervousness, such as hands trembling, losing weight because one is bothered by something, having nightmares, feeling dizzy, hands sweating, and feeling tense.
The second factor, Somatization of Distress, was composed of items such as having physical problems, ill-health having affected one's work, having trouble with sleep, and feeling nervous and tense.

The third factor could be described as Extreme Physical Anxiety. Items with high loadings this factor were feelings of heart beating hard, shortness of breath, feeling pains and ailments in body, and feeling dizzy.

The three factors which emerged from this study resemble closely the factors of "Psychological Anxiety", "Physical Health", and "Physical Anxiety" identified by Gurin and his colleagues (1960) in their analysis of a similar symptom list.

Participants under 29 years of age manifested symptoms of Psychological Anxiety more often than did subjects over the age of 40. This finding appears to be incongruous with the results reported by Gurin and his colleagues (1960), who noted that such symptoms were reported more frequently by individuals in the older age groups. Differences in the findings might be accounted for in terms of the different environments from which the two samples were selected.

In general, many stressors faced by younger subjects in the present study might not have been experienced by the non-incarcerated population of younger women from which Gurin and his colleagues (1960) drew their subjects. Living with peers in whom one could not trust, lack of freedom and privacy,
separation from one's children and family, and worries about social-acceptance after being isolated from the wider society were but a few examples of the types of problems with which most subjects in the present study had to cope. Such problems might have been more stressful for the younger inmates, to whom social contacts were likely to be particularly important. It is thus likely that the two samples of young women were faced with different types of problems which had in turn promoted anxiety of different degrees. The finding that higher levels of psychological anxiety were manifested by the younger women in the present study should therefore not be interpreted as contradictory to Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) results, because it was likely that the prison-environment, within which the present sample functions, has created a set of stressors which, in general, would not have been encountered by the younger participants in Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) study.

Inmates with lower education levels seemed to have manifested symptoms of Psychological Anxiety more frequently. This relationship, however, disappeared when age was taken into account. In view of the observation that subjects with lower levels of education in this sample also tended to be younger women, and that younger subjects manifested more symptoms of Psychological Anxiety, it was likely that the relationship between education and Psychological Anxiety emerged mainly due to the close relationship between education level and age.
In contrast to Gurin and his colleagues' (1960) finding that older people and people with lower educational levels manifested more bodily complaints, symptoms of Somatization of Distress were not manifested at different levels by respondents in any sub-groups of this study. This suggests that, irrespective of differences in characteristics, having trouble with sleep, work being affected by ill-health, and feeling nervous and tense were common problems among these inmates. It appears that the shared experiences of prison-related stress manifested as somatized symptoms by the sample in general.

Symptoms of Extreme Physical Anxiety were reported by older women more frequently. This finding is similar to that of Panton (1976), who noted that his sample of aged male inmates (sixty and over) showed greater anxiety and concern with physical functioning. The present findings also correspond with those from older females and males in the non-incarcerated population. Older subjects of both sexes perceived more physical problems than did younger ones (Gurin et al, 1960), suggesting that more physical reactions to anxiety are expected in older people than in younger ones, perhaps because of the physical effects of aging (Gurin et al, 1960).

With respect to sentence length, women facing sentences of over ten years showed symptoms of Extreme Physical Anxiety more frequently than did women with a sentence of less than two years, or those with a two to nine year sentence. The relationship between sentence lengths and these symptoms
persisted even when age was used as a control variable. It seems likely that coping with a lengthy sentence was accompanied by extreme anxiety which, in turn, was manifested in more extreme forms of somatization, such as feelings of having heavy heart-beats and shortness of breath. Moreover, examination of the demographic characteristics of the present sample showed that participants facing longer sentences tended to be older women. With the additional anxiety created by a lengthy sentence, physical problems which are usually found among older women could have been exacerbated.

Psychological Well-being

The structure shown in Bradburn's (1969) analyses of the Affect Balance Scale was validated in this study. Responses to the positive affect items showed that, while very few inmates had felt "on top of the world", the majority of the sample did express high levels of positive affect. In particular, having felt pleased about the accomplishment of something was most widely shared, followed by having felt proud because of compliments on something the subject had done. Frequently mentioned sources of such positive feelings were achievement in education courses, compliments from course instructors, and achievement at work.

As well as a high level of positive affect among the present sample, widespread negative affective experiences was also
reported. Having felt bored was reported by the highest number of subjects. Most women explained that this was due to insufficient recreation at WCCW, along with a lack of interest in what was available at the time of the study. Other frequently experienced negative feelings were depression and loneliness. As will be discussed in the following sections, it appears that negative affect of this type nature was probably related to problems arising from separation from family and children, concerns about post-release life, loss of autonomy, social-isolation from other peers owing to a lack of trust, and other problems which associated with the experience of incarceration.

Negative affect was reported only marginally more often than positive affect. This implied that, while subjects in this sample had high levels of negative experiences during incarceration at WCCW, these were almost counter-balanced by the high levels of positive experiences. Bradburn (1969) explained that an individual is regarded as high in psychological well-being where there are more positive experiences than negative ones, and low in psychological well-being when the reversed pattern is observed. The present findings thus suggest that, in general, the level of psychological well-being of these women were relatively neutral, because only a small excess of negative feelings over positive ones were reported. Despite the observation that more negative affect was reported by the subjects, the level of psychological well-being of these women
was higher than one might expect in an incarcerated population.

Similarities were observed between responses made by Bradburn's (1969) sample and those made by subjects in the present study, in that, with the exception of the item mentioned above, over half of Bradburn's subjects endorsed the "yes" response to each of the items on the Positive Affect Scale. Having felt that things were going one's way was, however, less frequently experienced by the present sample, suggesting a stronger tendency among the inmate population to perceive experiences in a less positive manner. Further, higher levels of negative affect were observed among participants in the present study. The daily problems encountered by subjects in the present study appeared to be unique to incarcerated individuals, such as those related to loss of autonomy and restrictions of social and familial contact, and seem to have resulted in a higher incidence of negative affect among this sample. On the other hand, such problems were less likely to be experienced by the non-incarcerated subjects in Bradburn's (1969) study, hence expressions of negative experiences were substantially lower among them.

Older subjects in this study reported fewer negative experiences, while the reverse was true for younger ones. Similar results were also reported by Bradburn (1969), who postulated older respondents' lives become progressively more bland.
Subjects with only some high school education reported more negative experiences than subjects who had completed college education. Similar results were reported by Bradburn (1969) who noted that subjects from higher education levels were at a more favourable level of psychological well-being.

Participants serving a shorter sentence reported a higher incidence of negative affect. Examination of the demographic characteristics indicated that subjects serving shorter sentences tended to be younger women. This observation, coupled with results which showed that younger women reported a higher incidence of negative affect, suggested that the relationship between sentence length and the incidence of negative affect might have emerged because of the inter-related characteristics between age and sentence length in this sample. This possibility was confirmed when sentence length was no longer related to the incidence of negative affect after the effect of age was taken into account.

Relationship between Perceptions of Health and Psychological Well-being

In this study, higher incidence of symptoms of Psychological Anxiety was frequently manifested by subjects who reported more negative experiences. Symptoms of Psychological Anxiety were also found more often among subjects who had more negative experiences than positive ones. On the other hand, these
symptoms were not related to the factors of Somatization of Distress and Extreme Physical Anxiety. These results lend partial support to Bradburn's (1969) findings, in that the correlation between the negative affect scale and psychological anxiety noted by Bradburn was found in this study, but his finding that this scale was also related to physical symptoms was not replicated. This might be due to the differences between the composition of Bradburn's physical problems index and that of the Somatization of Distress and Extreme Physical Anxiety factors. Besides items describing physical symptoms, the latter two factors employed in the present study also describe symptoms of different levels of psychological anxiety.

Another finding which departed from that of Bradburn (1969) was the relationship between the factor of Somatization of Distress and the Positive Affect Scale. Bradburn (1969) reported that the Positive Affect Scale was not related to the indices of physical problems and psychological anxiety, but was related to the extent of social participation. In this study, however, symptoms of Somatization of Distress tended to be lower among subjects who had expressed more positive feelings. As was discussed above, symptoms of Somatization of Distress were shared by most women in this sample. One might thus speculate that the effects of even the most uneventful positive experience during incarceration would be considered by these subjects as a highly significant one. This, in turn, might be significant in reducing the high levels of anxiety, with a subsequent reduction
of somatized physical problems to a substantial degree.

Perceptions of Social Relationships in WCCW

Turning to perceptions of concerns about inter-personal relationships with other people in the institution, parallels can be drawn with findings from previous studies on female inmates. Like the women in Giallombardo's (1966) study, living with other inmates was identified as one of the major problems encountered by participants from WCCW. Peers were described as "immature" and were said to "enjoy getting others into trouble", so that others would be "infrastracted" by correctional officers. Participants also expressed a lack of trust in their peers. This view was illustrated by a subject who said, "If anyone is nice to you in here, it's because she wants something from you, like wanting to use your things... It's difficult to find a real friend in here. You can't trust anyone." Some peers were viewed as being rude to other inmates and to the staff. Strongly resented homosexual activities on campus were identified by some participants as their main inter-personal problem at WCCW. This view was expressed by this subject's comment: "They (homosexual inmates) should wear badges to show that they are homosexuals, so that we know their sexual preferences and stay away from them..." Another subject said, "...they're so open about it (homosexual activities), you see it happening everywhere on campus. We shouldn't have to put up with this. They should at least do it where we can't see them."
Another major problem area was related to unfavourable staff-inmate relationships. Problems with inconsistent rule interpretation and enforcement such as those noted by Fox (1982) were also reported by the subjects in this study. Participants explained that inconsistencies abound among correctional officers, leading to confusion among inmates with regards to rule interpretation. The women stated that they had to endure further frustrations when the consistency of rule enforcement was dependent upon the mood of an officer, as illustrated by the following subject: "...you'll be allowed to do something by a C.O. today but you'll get infracted by the same person if you do exactly the same thing on a day that he's in a bad mood. They (C.O.s) should leave their problems out there. They shouldn't come to work with their problems and take it out on us. We've got enough problems in here..."

Resentment about staffs' patronizing interactions with inmates was another problem which was perceived by the subjects. New officers were seen as the most authoritarian staff, they "enjoy playing cops", and "enjoy infracting the women". Officers who have been in the institution for a longer period, on the other hand, were viewed as being "better", because they were said to have "mellowed-out" in general.

While some women pointed out that there are correctional officers who were understanding and who did show respect for inmates, such officers were perceived as exceptional cases. Most officers were said to treat inmates like children, and referred
to inmates as "girls." Some women felt that the officers do not care about the inmates' problems, and had no understanding of the problems which incarceration entails. One subject suggested, "When they (C.O.s) are in the academy, they should have something like a prison for training, and everyone should be locked in that "prison" for some days, so they'll know what it's really like to be put in a prison ..."

Problems with the medical staff were also frequently cited. From the subjects' perspective, nurses were not only rude to inmates, but were insensitive to their medical needs. Frustrations arose because they were often turned away from the clinic when medical assistance was sought, because according to these respondents, the nurses did not believe that the inmates' physical complaints are genuine. These women believed that negative reactions from the clinic staff stemmed from a misconception that all inmates would request medication in order to satiate a drug dependency, instead of needing medication for some genuine health problem. The respondents also explained that even when medical problems were recognized by the nurses, Tylenol or Motrin were offered for a wide variety of complaints. From the subjects' view, the nurses' medical knowledge did not extend beyond that of Tylenol and Motrin. The women's lack of confidence in the nursing staff was reflected in the following comments, echoing those of several respondents: "You don't want to be ill in here; you won't get any help ..." and "The first thing I was told by other people when I got in here was not to
get ill, and to take care of my health, because the clinic is really bad in here ..."

Those who did not admit having any inter-personal problems within WCCW offered an interesting reasons to account for that situation. In order to avoid getting into trouble and to avoid letting others take advantage of them, most of these subjects had chosen to maintain a social distance from other inmates. This strategy of social isolation might be interpreted as a social adjustment "problem", as did Cassel and Van Vorst (1961), because the researchers viewed this social attitude as ineffective peer affiliation among their subjects. However, in this sample, respondents who had adopted this strategy appeared to perceive it as a means to "get along with other people" at WCCW. This seemingly positive perception of social isolation was reflected in the following comment, which was often made by subjects who perceived themselves as having no problems in getting along with others in WCCW: "Yes, I get along with them. I don't talk to them (other inmates) ... I don't let them come near me to get to know me, so how can I have problems with them?... I don't get into trouble, and I don't talk to the staff, so I don't have any problems with the staff ..."]

Results from the present study indicated that subjects who differed in terms of age, levels of education, total length of sentence, and the length of sentence already served at WCCW expressed different concerns about social relationships within WCCW.
Inter-personal problems were reported by younger subjects. Although subjects tended to disassociate themselves from other women at WCCW, one might speculate that younger subjects were still more likely to be socially active than older ones in the predominantly young inmate population at WCCW. Inter-personal problems might thus be expected to arise more often among the younger people, owing to their more frequent social contacts with other people in the institution.

Subjects with lower levels of education were found to report inter-personal problems in WCCW more often than subjects with higher education levels. The relationship disappeared, however, when age was used as a control variable. This indicates that, because subjects with lower levels of education in the present sample also tended to be younger people, and because more reports of inter-personal problems were found among younger people in this study, the relationship between education levels and reports of inter-personal problems was strongly affected by the age factor.

Differential perceptions of social relationships in WCCW were also found between subjects who were serving different lengths of sentence. Inter-personal problems in WCCW were reported more often by participants who were serving a sentence of two to nine years in particular, while such problems were cited less frequently by women who faced a sentence of ten years or more. Further analyses showed that this relationship was not a resultant of the effect of the age factor. Social withdrawal
from other inmates and co-operation with staff were observed by Cohen and Taylor (1972) among some of their subjects serving lengthy sentences. One might speculate that, in the present sample, similar strategies were adopted by the subjects with sentences of ten years or over. Owing to their lengthy incarceration at WCCW, these women might have been more likely to turn to such strategies in pursuit of a less stressful incarceration. Low levels of social contact with other inmates and co-operation with staff might have thus aided in their less negative perception of inter-personal relationships in WCCW.

The majority of respondents expressed no concerns about their physical safety at WCCW. Among the five women who did express concerns in this regard, four were only moderately preoccupied by this problem, and only one was extremely worried about it. These results stand in contrast with findings reported in previous studies (e.g. Sykes, 1958; Johnson 1976; Toch, 1977; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965), in which physical safety was seen by both male and female inmates as one of their major concerns. Two possibilities might account for these discordant results regarding concerns about physical safety: either the validity of the present results can be questioned, or there genuine differences in perceptions of physical safety between the present sample and the samples employed by previous studies. Doubt might be cast on the validity of the present findings, in that even if an interviewee was preoccupied by concerns about physical safety, she might have been reluctant to express her
concerns during the interview. However, the likelihood of finding a similar reluctance shared by the majority of this sample appears to be minimal. As mentioned before, each interviewee participated in this study with a clear understanding that neither inmates nor staff would be able to identify the source of the information provided to the researcher. Moreover, all subjects were aware of the fact that no information would be recorded in their official files. The researcher thus believes that information from the interviews can be treated with a high level confidence with regard to face validity. One would therefore turn to other variables which might have accounted for differences in the findings reported by this study and those from previous research.

Studies which reported that physical safety was a major concern to inmates were mainly conducted with male participants in maximum-security institutions (Sykes, 1958; Toch, 1977). Inmates in this category of institution were thus aware of the fact that the main population had committed some violent offences. In view of the awareness of other peers' potentially violent behaviour, it appears that concerns about one's physical safety was more likely to be escalated in such living environments. On the other hand, subjects in the present study were sampled from an institution in which the majority of the inmates have committed drug-related crimes, and are subsequently categorized as medium-security. Participants who expressed no concern about their own physical safety believed that the main
population is generally non-violent. Subjects did point out that they would fear retaliation if they reported a known culprit, even if personal belongings were stolen. However, through refraining from making such reports to the staff, physical safety was maintained. Moreover, the strategy of distancing oneself from other peers both physically and socially had also been widely employed as an effective means of maintaining physical safety.

When confronted by personal problems while at WCCW, over half of this sample had sought assistance from another person. Of the women who confided in someone else, the mental health services were identified by over half of these respondents as their source of help. For those who found a trustworthy peer in the institution, personal problems were shared with this confidant. The psychiatric social workers were approached by the subjects most often. As will be discussed in below, the maintenance of frequent contacts with their family and children reflected the highly valued relationships between the majority of the subjects and those individuals. When personal problems were encountered, however, only occasionally did the respondents approach their family and children for assistance or support. In fact, only two women had turned to their family for help with their personal problems. It therefore appears that for most subjects, the main support system for personal problems was found within the institution. The subjects' perception that people "outside" did not understand their problems might have
accounted for their reluctance to discuss personal problems with their family. For some inmates, visiting hours had become an anxiety-provoking experience, although they also pointed out that they were glad to see their visitors. Such anxiety arose from the increasing difficulty of searching for topics to which both the inmate and the visitor could relate. This view is best exemplified by one subject's comment: "I'm beginning to dread the visits from my husband. I don't know what to talk to him about. He can't relate to the things that go on here 'cos it's so different from what goes on outside ... I like seeing him still, but we just don't have anything to talk about in those two hours ..."

Despite being assigned to a primary counsellor, whose responsibilities include addressing inmates' personal functioning (Purdy Corrections Center for Women, 1986), counsellors were rarely approached by the subjects for assistance with personal problems. Reluctance to seek emotional support from counsellors can be understood in the light of the subjects' perceptions of the inmate-counsellor relationship. Respondents felt that the counsellors had been so engulfed in paper-work that they no longer had time to familiarize themselves with inmates. As one subject pointed out, "... He doesn't even know me, how can I talk to him about my problems?..." Owing to this widely shared view, subjects believed that counsellors did not care about inmates and that the former did not wish to concern themselves with the inmates'
problems. Furthermore, some subjects felt that the counsellors, being all males at the time of the study, were not attuned to the problems which female inmates were facing. Therefore, these respondents did not believe that they would find emotional support from their counsellors. This observation suggests that the inmates' perceptions of their counsellor's role has diverged from that described by official sources.

Perceptions of Social Relationships Outside WCCW

Like their counterparts in other studies on female inmates (Baunach, 1985; Cassel and Van Vorst, 1961; Ward and Kassebaum, 1965; Giallombardo, 1966), participants in this research indicated that they missed their families to a large extent. Despite frequent mother-and-child communication among the majority of this sample, missing children was experienced to a large extent. An unfortunate minority of mother-inmates, however, was barred from maintaining contact with their children owing to the outcome of a court-decision. Deliberate barriers were also set up by one's spouse or ex-cohabitant, such as not notifying the inmate of a new address, and kidnapping the children to an unknown address or even to another country. The latter situation was experienced by a participant who explained that her son had been kidnapped by his father to an unknown part of Egypt, and she has lost contact with her child since.
With respect to concerns about the weakening of mother-and-child relationships, the majority of the respondents were not preoccupied by this problem. These women were confident that through maintenance of close contacts with their children, the mother-and-child relationship would remain strong, despite the separation created by incarceration. Some participants further pointed out that, not only was the weakening of relationship of no concern to them, but they actually felt that their incarceration has strengthened the relationship, because the family has been drawn together to provide each other emotional support.

Notwithstanding such optimism, which was shared by the majority of the respondents, some inmates were indeed troubled by their fear that relationships with their children might weaken. These participants said that despite their efforts to maintain close contact with their children, their relationship might gradually deteriorate as a function of the lengthy separation. Like Baunach's (1985) subjects, some respondents in this study were worried that the children's caretaker would eventually replace their role as the "real mother". Such concern was expressed by an inmate-mother in the present sample: "... I'm afraid that my kids will come to see my mother as their real mother, and not me ..." Most of these concerned mother-inmates were serving sentences of between two years and life-imprisonment. Women who had been refrained from contacting their children were, not surprisingly, most concerned about the
relationship. Their concerns about the weakening of mother-and-child relationship appear to have reflected Wilson and Vito's (1988) assertion that separation from family is more extreme and consequently more grievous for inmates serving lengthy sentences.

Age differences were found in the extent to which the subjects have missed their close partner living outside WCCW. In view of the finding that younger women in this study have missed their partner to a larger extent than older ones, the significantly higher degree of sexual frustration expressed by younger respondents seemed hardly surprising.

Women facing relatively short sentences of less than two years also expressed sexual frustrations to a larger extent than did those with a sentence of between two and nine years.

Significantly more whites than non-whites in the present sample indicated that they missed their partner to a large extent.

Differences in maintaining contacts with children were observed between subjects with different levels of education. Women with higher levels of education were in more frequent contact with children than women with less education. Further analyses revealed that there was a greater tendency among women in the latter group to have been barred from communicating with their children owing to the ex-spouse's deliberate efforts to separate the two parties. Missing friends living outside WCCW
was also more frequently reported among subjects with lower education levels.

Limitations in Experiences

Examination of the concerns about materialistic experiences revealed that since incarceration at WCCW, participants missed the freedom to spend money to the largest extent, followed by missing choice of food, missing entertainments, and missing luxury goods respectively. In particular, outdoor sports were mentioned as the type of entertainment which the women had missed most frequently. This might be related to the widespread concerns about weight gain among the respondents. In addition, although gymnasium facilities are provided at WCCW, older subjects in general pointed out that the types of exercises available, such as badminton, volley-ball, and roller-skating, were not suitable for older women.

Another type of widely missed entertainment was movies. Despite the staff's relatively frequent efforts to show movies in the dining-hall, respondents were reluctant to attend such shows. They explained that their homosexual peers had often taken advantage of such occasions to meet with each other, thus creating an extremely undesirable setting for other non-homosexual women to watch the movies. Many respondents therefore chose not to attend the movie shows because of the presence of their homosexual peers.
As mentioned above, compared to other materialistic concerns, lower ratings were endorsed by subjects for the item "missing luxury goods at WCCW". This finding diverges from Richard's (1978), who reported that missing "little luxuries" was perceived by his subjects as one of the most severe problems. One might suggest that this difference between Richard's (1978) report and the present one lies mainly in the differential historical development of the institutions in which the two respective studies were carried out. WCCW is more "generous" in its allowance of materialistic "privileges". Despite a shift to a corrections oriented administration, adherence to earlier treatment orientation of WCCW carries on a tradition of "meeting standards of decency appropriate to public programmes", and maintaining the principle of confining individuals AS punishment, not FOR punishment (Washington Corrections Center for Women, 1988). The ability to purchase televisions and radios at WCCW for personal use, for instance, is a reflection of the availability of material goods during incarceration. Thus, compared with the presumably more rigid prison-setting of the maximum-security facility in which Richard's (1978) subjects were confined, one would expect concerns about missing luxury goods to be a lesser problem at WCCW.

Limitations in experiences were expressed to different extents by subjects who differed in terms of age, education, and the length of time spent at WCCW.
Younger participants of this study indicated that they missed having luxury goods to a larger extent, reflecting a higher demand for materialistic satisfaction among these individuals.

Subjects with lower levels of education were also found to miss having luxury items to a larger degree than those with higher educational achievement. This observation, however, was strongly affected by the age factor in this sample, owing to the fact that subjects with lower levels of education were also predominantly younger women who, as aforementioned, showed that they missed having luxury items to a larger extent. Likewise, the relationship between age and missing entertainment was confounded with the relationship between age and education.

Subjects who have been at WCCW for different lengths of time also expressed missing different experiences. Women who have been at WCCW for a shorter period reported having missed entertainments to a greater extent. As was expected, this indicates that changes in levels of social stimulation from entertainments were felt more sharply by women who were in the early stages of adjustment at WCCW than by those who have already been at the institution for a longer period, and were more likely to have adjusted to changes in this respect.

Women who have been at WCCW for a longer time, on the other hand, showed that they missed having their own choice of food to a larger extent.
Concerns about Other Issues

Like Toch's findings (1977), results from the present study reflected the inevitable loss of freedom experienced by subjects at WCCW. Subjects in the present study expressed that missing the freedom to come and go and freedom to carry out activities as they wished were viewed as one of the most severely felt experiences during incarceration.

Dissatisfactions with administrative policies were frequently expressed by some subjects. Several women resented the regulation which prohibits mutual unit-visits between inmates in different living-units. These women explained that this regulation hindered maintenance of social contact between peers. In times of bad weather, particularly during winter, inmates in different living-units had been unable to socialize outside the units. They pointed out that unless both parties were scheduled in the same work or school programme, it had been difficult to converse with another peer when weather did not permit socialization outdoors.

Another policy with which some subjects were displeased concerned visits. It was felt that visiting hours were too short, and that these should be lengthened. Some women also resented having to be strip-searched after visits. Several individuals pointed out that they had become very reluctant to receive visits because they did not want to face the humiliation of being strip-searched afterwards.
Some women felt that the institution should reconsider their policy of housing inmates with federal sentences, owing to the shortage of space in living-units. These women expressed their concerns about rising tension between inmates due to the lack of space in the units, a problem which was seen as having been escalated due to the continual intake of federal "boarders".

Lack of male companionship was felt by some participants, among whom, the introduction of male inmates to WCCW was frequently suggested. Some women who were incarcerated in a "co-ed" institution previously explained that the presence of male inmates provided an incentive for the female inmates to be more conscious of their appearance, through which self-esteem was enhanced.

Lack of confidence in facing life outside the institution, and perceptions that WCCW had not offered the women adequate assistance to prepare them for post-release adjustment were identified by some as their major concerns. These were reflected in the following comments, "... I'm worried that I might not have the will-power to stay off drugs after I leave Purdy. I'm really afraid that I might get back into it ..."; "... I hope I can get a job right after release, so that I can stay away from drugs ..."; "... it's going to be difficult to adjust to life after release, because Purdy (WCCW) doesn't do enough to prepare us for release ..."
Another widespread concern was related to the insufficient employment opportunities at WCCW. Respondents who raised such concerns explained that there were only a few types of employment available at WCCW, therefore they perceived limited opportunities to earn a living within the institution.

Some subjects indicated that they had missed their privacy extremely. Sharing one's room with another woman, conversing with another inmate in one's room or other parts of the living-unit without forgetting that the duty officers might be listening to the entire conversation over the intercome system, and having one's correspondence occasionally examined were, but a few, instances of loss of privacy cited by some subjects.

Although problems which are encountered by the majority of a sample often call for more immediate attention than do those faced by a minority, the concerns of the latter group could not be neglected. In this study for instance, concerns were expressed about the lack of provisions for religious practices of minority groups, because such practices were central elements of their lives. The lack of certain ethnic foods at WCCW was identified as another problem faced by an individual. For her, adjustment to the food at the institution was one of her main problems.
Implications of Present Study

Findings from the present study may have implications for the planning of programmes, mental health and social services, and resources.

Variations in perceptions of health were expressed by subjects in different age-groups and by subjects with different education levels. Female inmates in groups defined in these terms might find sessions on stress management techniques of particular assistance in coping with their high levels of psychological anxiety.

The greater incidence of extreme physical anxiety among older subjects and among subjects who were facing a lengthy sentence indicate that additional medical attention, along with training regarding strategies for stress management may be beneficial for female inmates with these characteristics.

The older subjects' concerns about inappropriate provisions of recreational facilities for older women at WCCW may call for special consideration when recreational programmes are designed. Further, older inmates should perhaps be offered an alternative choice to reside in quieter areas in each unit.

The tendency for the younger subjects to express more negative affect suggests the need for mental health staff to recognize and address issues which generally pertain to such experiences among younger incarcerated women.
More social skills and communication skills training could be offered to both inmates and staff to improve relationships within the institution. Women serving sentences over two years might find such training particularly helpful in improving their relationships with both inmates and staff. Additional communication skills might assist inmates in discussing and resolving interpersonal problems with each other and with the staff.

The subjects' perceptions of the staffs' lack of interest in, and understanding of, the inmates' problems suggest a need for staff training to place more emphases on awareness of female inmates' problems encountered during incarceration. Awareness of inmates' problems, particularly on the part of correctional officers, plays a significant role in maintaining security in the institution. Correctional officers are the most likely individuals to recognize early signs of distress because of their frequent contact with inmates. This is not, however, meant to imply that correctional officers should embrace the role of counselling. Correctional officers, through sharing with the mental health staff their observations of changes in an inmate's behaviour, or their recognition of early signs of distress, could instigate interventions which would curb possible violent outbursts resulting from a build-up of frustrations. Courses aimed at furthering the understanding of the psychological, physical, and social needs of female inmates are thus important. Such courses are likely to be most beneficial for newly
recruited staff, particularly for male staff who have had limited contact with female offenders. In addition, similar courses could be offered regularly on a seminar basis as in-service training, so that open-discussions could be conducted to promote exchange of problems, information, and experience which the staff have encountered recently. Implementation of such training, however, would depend heavily upon efforts from administrators to facilitate correctional officers attendance at such sessions, because other officers would be required for periodic substitutions.

Turning to the problems associated with maintaining social-relationships with the "outside", policy changes aimed at facilitating closer familial contacts could reduce the level of anxiety among female inmates, particularly among those who are serving a lengthy sentence. Problems related to inconvenient telephone communication, for instance, could be easily resolved through installing more telephones in quieter areas of the unit, and permitting longer periods for telephone conversations.

Despite the provision of post-release social-support and employment information at WCCW, the subjects' remained preoccupied about post-release adjustment. An increased effort in assisting inmates to obtain such information, along with the inmate's knowledge of the provision of social-services to maintain post-release contact with ex-inmates might increase self-confidence among inmates who are approaching their release-date. This might be particularly important for female
inmates who appear to be generally more reliant on a dominant figure for their life-style, but one who is likely to have left their lives by the time these women are released. In such cases, the fear of a lack of social-support might decrease their success in reintegrating themselves into the larger society after release.

Rather than viewing all female inmates as sharing similar needs, programmes, services, and resources might be planned in view of the different problems encountered by female inmates from different demographic backgrounds, so that these individuals' differential needs could be addressed.

Limitations of the Present Study and Indications of Direction for Future Research

Findings from the present sample could likely be generalized to other inmates at WCCW, because the subjects appear to be representative of the total population in that institution. Nevertheless, caution needs to be expressed in generalizing these results to women in other prison-settings. First, only limited generality can be expected in view of the small sample size in this study. Second, owing to differences in the historical development of other institutions for females and differences in financial provisions, management and policies of institutions vary widely. Issues which are of concern to the women in different prison-settings would consequently vary from
one institution to another. Notwithstanding these limitations in the generality of the present findings, this exploratory study has attempted to highlight specific issues which were all of concern to some women in prison.

Future research in exploring concerns of female inmates might also include interviews with correctional officers, mental health staff, and medical staff. By noting the problems faced by these individuals who come into direct contact with inmates, invaluable insight into the context in which inter-personal problems arise within the institution might be gained. Services could also be improved by taking into account the problems faced by both inmates and staff. Interviews with administrators can also shed further light on the difficulties encountered by policy-makers, such as having limited budgets for improving certain institutional services or programmes, thereby gaining further understanding of some major factors which could contribute to persisting problems encountered by women in prisons.
Appendix 1

Subject No. :__:__:

Interview Protocol
Section I  Perception of Health

I'll start with some questions about your health.

02. Do you have any particular physical or health trouble?

1 Yes
2 No (to 04)
3 N/O (to 04)

03. What problem(s) do you have?
   a. __________________________
   b. __________________________
   c. __________________________
   d. __________________________
   e. When did this (a) start? __________
   f. When did this (b) start? __________
   g. When did this (c) start? __________
   h. When did this (d) start? __________

04. Do you feel you are bothered by all sorts of pains and ailments in different parts of your body?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O

05. Have you ever had any long illnesses in the past?

1 Yes
2 No (to 07)
3 N/O (to 07)

06. What problem(s) do you have?
   a. __________________________
   b. __________________________
   c. __________________________
   d. __________________________
   e. When did this (a) start? __________
   f. When did this (b) start? __________
   g. When did this (c) start? __________
   h. When did this (d) start? __________
Have you ever had the following physical problems?

07. a. Asthma
   1 Yes (to 08)
   2 No (to 08)
   3 N/O (to 08)

   b. When did this start? _____________

08. a. Hay fever
   1 Yes (to 09)
   2 No (to 09)
   3 N/O (to 09)

   b. When did this start? _____________

09. a. Skin trouble
   1 Yes (to 10)
   2 No (to 10)
   3 N/O (to 10)

   b. When did this start? _____________

10. a. Stomach ulcer
   1 Yes (to 11)
   2 No (to 11)
   3 N/O (to 11)

   b. When did this start? _____________

[Scale F]

With the help of this card, I would like to know how often you have been troubled by the following complaints which people have.

11. Do you ever have any trouble getting to sleep or staying asleep?
   1  2  3  4  5  6

12. Are you ever bothered by nervousness, feeling fidgety and tense?
   1  2  3  4  5  6
13. Are you ever troubled by headaches or pain in the head?

1 2 3 4 5 6

14. How often do you have loss of appetite?

1 2 3 4 5 6

15. How often are you bothered by having an upset stomach?

1 2 3 4 5 6

16. How often do you find it difficult to get up in the morning?

1 2 3 4 5 6

17. How often has ill health affected the amount of work you do?

1 2 3 4 5 6

18. Are you ever bothered by shortness of breath when you were not exercising or working hard?

1 2 3 4 5 6

19. Are you ever bothered by your heart beating hard?

1 2 3 4 5 6

20. How often do you smoke more than you should?

1 2 3 4 5 6

21. Are you ever bothered by spells of dizziness?

1 2 3 4 5 6

22. Are you ever bothered by nightmares?

1 2 3 4 5 6

23. How often would you lose weight when you have something important bothering you?

1 2 3 4 5 6
24. How often do your hands tremble enough to bother you?

1  2  3  4  5  6

25. Are you ever troubled by your hands sweating so that you feel damp and clammy?

1  2  3  4  5  6

26. Have there ever been times when you couldn't take care of things because you just couldn't get going?

1  2  3  4  5  6

Here are some more questions about your health. This time, just answer "Yes" or "No".

27. For the most part, do you feel healthy enough to carry out the things you would like to do?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O

28. During your stay at Purdy, have you been worried about gaining or losing weight?

1 gaining weight
2 losing weight
3 No (to 30)
4 N/O (to 30)

[Scale F]

29. Using this card, please show me how often you have been worried about it.

1  2  3  4  5  6

30. Have you ever felt that you were going to have a nervous break-down?

1 Yes
2 No (to 34)
3 N/O (to 34)

31. When did you feel this way? __________
32. What was the main reason for you to have felt that way?

__________________________________________________________________________
__________________________________________________________________________

33. What did you do about it?

a. ____________________________________________________________

b. ____________________________________________________________

34. Do you have any other physical problem(s) which I have not already mentioned?

1 Yes
2 No (to 37)
3 N/O (to 37)

35. What other physical problem(s) do you have?

a. ____________________________________________________________
b. ____________________________________________________________
c. ____________________________________________________________

d. When did this (a) start? __________
e. When did this (b) start? __________
f. When did this (c) start? __________

36. How often have you been worried about it (them)?

1 2 3 4 5 6
Section II Perception of Internal Social Relationships

Now I am going to ask you some questions about your relationship with the people at Purdy.

37. Do you get along well with the people at Purdy?

1 Yes
2 No (to 38)
3 N/O (to 42)

38. What problems do you have with getting along with them?
   a. __________________________________________
   b. __________________________________________
   c. __________________________________________
   d. __________________________________________

39. In your opinion, do you think that anything could be done to alleviate such problems?

1 Yes
2 No (to 42)
3 N/O (to 42)

40. In which aspect(s)?
   a. __________________________________________
   b. __________________________________________
   c. __________________________________________
   d. __________________________________________

41. In your opinion, what could be done to solve this (these) problems?
   a. __________________________________________
   b. __________________________________________
   c. __________________________________________
   d. __________________________________________

42. Have you ever been worried about your physical safety at Purdy?

1 Yes
2 No (to 45)
3 N/O (to 45)
43. With the help of this card, I'd like to know how much you have been worried about your physical safety at Purdy.

| 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 | 5 | 6 |

44. Why have you been worried about it?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 
   d. 

45. During your stay at Purdy, have you ever gone anywhere for advice and help with any personal problems?
   1 Yes 
   2 No   (to 48) 
   3 N/O  (to 49) 

46. Where did you go for help?
   a. 
   b. 

47. How did it turn out --- do you think it helped you in any way?
    1 Yes
    2 No   (to 48)
    3 N/O  (to 49)

48. Why haven't you gone anywhere for help? Was it because:
   a. 1 you haven't had any personal problems at Purdy?
      2 you believed you could handle it yourself?
      3 you didn't trust anyone else?
   b. Other reasons:
      ______________________________________________________
      ______________________________________________________
Section III Perception of External Social Relationships

Now I have some questions about your relationship with people who live outside Purdy.

49. Do you have a family?

1 Yes  (to 65)
2 No   (to 65)
3 N/O  (to 65)

[Scale I]

50. Using this card, please show me how much you have missed your family.

1 2 3 4 5 6

(if "Not at all": to 52)

51. Please state which family member(s) you have missed.

a. __________

b. __________

c. __________

d. __________

52. Why not?

a. ____________________________________________

b. ____________________________________________

c. ____________________________________________

[Scale F]

53. Using this card, please tell me how often you communicate with your family during your stay at Purdy?

1 2 3 4 5 6

(if "Never" or "Rarely": to 54)
54. Why not (or Why rarely)?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

55. Do you have any children?
   1 Yes 
   2 No (to 65) 
   3 N/O (to 65) 

56. Was (Were) your child (children) living with you just before you came to Purdy?
   1 Yes 
   2 No (to 58) 
   3 N/O (to 58) 

57. Who is taking care of your child (children) while you're at Purdy?

[Scale F]

58. Using this card, please tell me how often you communicate with your child (children) during your stay at Purdy?
   1 2 3 4 5 6 
   (if "Never" or "Rarely": to 59) 

59. Why not (or Why rarely)?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

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60. How much have you missed your child (children) living outside Purdy?

   1    2    3    4    5    6

   (if "Not at all": to 61)

61. Why not?
   a. ___________________________________________
   b. ___________________________________________
   c. ___________________________________________

62. Are you worried that your relationship with your child (or children) might weaken?

   1 Yes
   2 No    (to 64)
   3 N/O   (to 65)

63. Why are you worried about it?
   a. ___________________________________________
   b. ___________________________________________
   c. ___________________________________________

64. Why not?
   a. ___________________________________________
   b. ___________________________________________
   c. ___________________________________________

65. With the help of this card, please tell me how much you have missed your friends outside Purdy.

   1    2    3    4    5    6

   (if "Not at all": to 66)

66. Why not?
   a. ___________________________________________
   b. ___________________________________________
   c. ___________________________________________
67. Do you have a close partner outside Purdy?

1 Yes
2 No (to 69)
3 N/O (to 69)

68. Using this card, please tell me how much you have missed your relationship with your partner outside Purdy.

1 2 3 4 5 6

69. Have you ever felt sexually frustrated during your stay at Purdy?

1 Yes
2 No (to 71)
3 N/O (to 71)

70. How much have you been bothered by this?

1 2 3 4 5 6
Section IV Concerns about Limitations of Experiences

[Scale I]

Now I have some questions about missing having certain things during your stay at Purdy. Using this card please tell me how much you have missed the following things:

71. During your stay at Purdy, how much have you missed entertainments (e.g. cinemas, parties)?

1 2 3 4 5 6

(if "Not at all": to 73)

72. What kinds of entertainments have you missed?
   a. ...........................................................................
   b. ...........................................................................
   c. ...........................................................................

73. Why not?
   a. ...........................................................................
   b. ...........................................................................

74. How much have you missed not being able to spend your money the way you used to outside Purdy?

1 2 3 4 5 6

(if "Not at all": to 75)

75. Why not?
   a. ...........................................................................
   b. ...........................................................................

76. During your stay at Purdy, how much have you missed not having luxury goods (e.g. hi-fi, jewelleries, make-up)?

1 2 3 4 5 6

(if "Not at all": to 78)

77. What type(s) of luxury goods have you missed?
   a. ...........................................................................
   b. ...........................................................................
   c. ...........................................................................
78. Why not?
   a. 
   b. 

79. How much have you missed not having your choice of food at Purdy?

   1  2  3  4  5  6

   (if "Not at all": to 80)

80. Why not?
   a. 
   b. 

81. Are there any other things which you have missed at Purdy?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 

82. Are there any other things which worry you?
   a. 
   b. 
   c. 


Section V  Affect Balance Scale

Now I would like to know how you have been feeling about life recently.

83. During the past three or four weeks, did you ever feel particularly excited or interested in something?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O

84. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel so restless that you couldn't sit long in a chair?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O

85. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel proud because someone complimented you on something you had done?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O

86. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel very lonely or remote from other people?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O

87. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel pleased about having accomplished something?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O

88. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel bored?
   1 Yes
   2 No
   3 N/O
89. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel on top of the world?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O

90. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel depressed or very unhappy?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O

91. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel that things were going your way?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O

92. During the past three of four weeks, did you ever feel upset because someone criticized you?

1 Yes
2 No
3 N/O
Section VI  Background Characteristics

Finally, I would like to ask you for some background information for statistical comparison purposes.

93. Date of incarceration at Purdy: ____________

94. Race: ____________

95. Age: _____

96. Length of current sentence: ____________

97. Date of interview: ____________

98. What is the highest grade or level of education you ever completed? [Do not read list]

1. No schooling
2. Some Elementary
3. Completed Elementary
4. Some High School
5. Some Community or Technical College or Nursing
6. Completed Comm. or Tech. College or Nursing
7. Some University or Teacher's College
8. Completed University or Teacher's College
Other education or training ____________

99. What job did you have before you came to Purdy?

__________________

100. Charge under current sentence: ____________

101. Boarding type: ____________

102. Security level: ____________

103. Housing type: ____________
Information Sheet

This study is carried out solely for my Master's degree requirement at the School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University, Canada. The purpose of this study is to find out what problems you might have during your stay at Washington Correctional Center for Women. Results could possibly be used for improving services to suit the needs of different groups of female inmates. Participation in this study is voluntary. Your decision on participation in this study will not influence any of your personal records. No financial reward is offered to those who volunteer to participate.

Those interested in this study will be asked to answer some questions. These questions are related to how much, or how often, you worry about certain things (e.g. your health), and how much you have missed certain people (e.g. your friends) and activities (e.g. going to movies).

Personal information (e.g. your age, number of children) is needed for comparing different groups of women. Your name will not be recorded anywhere; a number (not your prison number) will be created instead. I shall ask you the questions individually, so that no one else will know about your answers. You do not need to answer any questions to which you do not wish to respond. During our conversation, if you find that you do not
wish to continue to participate, we can end the interview.

Only those who are interested in this study will be asked to take part. It will take about 45 minutes to answer the questions. Other inmates and the staff will not read your responses. Findings from the study are available upon your request if you are interested.

If you have any questions about this study, you can contact me at the following address:

Bessie Pang
Graduate Studies
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C. Canada, V5A 1S6.
Appendix 3

Informed Consent by Subjects to Participate in a Research

This form and the information it contains are given to you for your own protection and full understanding of the procedures involved. Your signature on this form will signify that you have received the document described below regarding this project, that you have considered the information in the document, and that you voluntarily agree to participate in the study.

Having been asked by Bessie Pang of the School of Criminology at Simon Fraser University to participate in the study which examines the concerns of female inmates", I understand the procedures to be used in this study in which I have voluntarily agreed to take part.

I understand that I may withdraw my participation in this study at any time.

I also understand that I may make any complaint I might have about the study with the researcher, Miss. Bessie Pang, or with Dr. Ted Palys, Director of Graduate Programmes, School of Criminology, Simon Fraser University.

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Free copies of the results of this study, upon its completion, may be obtained by contacting:

Bessie Pang
Graduate Studies
School of Criminology
Simon Fraser University
Burnaby, B.C. Canada, V5A 1S6.

DATE:

SIGNATURE:
REFERENCES


*Corrections Today, 48*, no. 1, 76-80.


